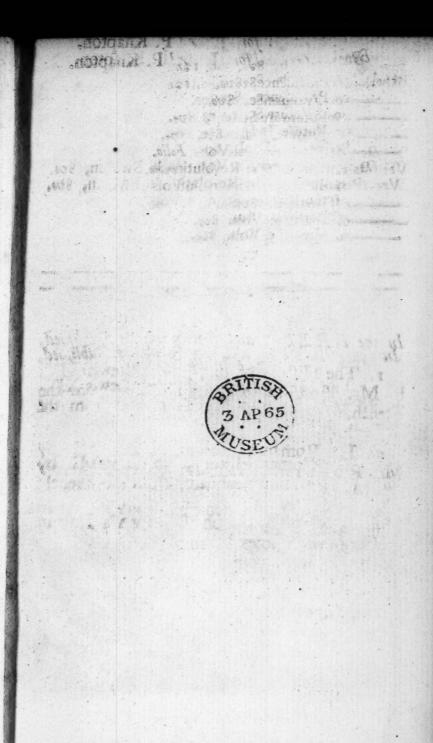
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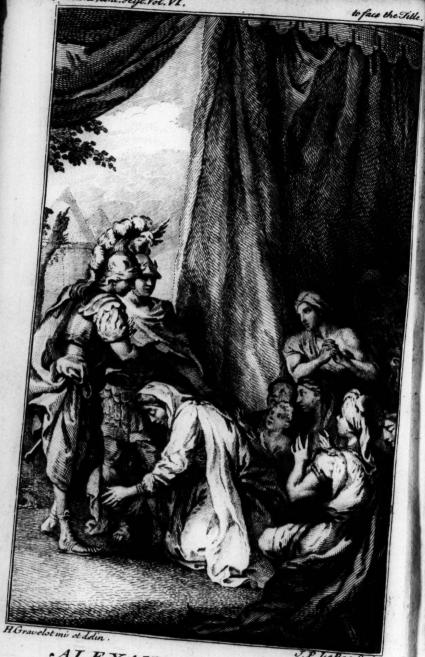
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J. P. LeBar Sculp.

ALEXANDER in the TENT

of DARIUS,

Published Decem : 16, 1739, by J. 4 P. Knapton

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HISTORY

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EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS,

ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS,

MEDES and PERSIANS,

MACEDONIANS,

AND

GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inferiptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. VI.

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LONDON:

Printed for John and PAUL KNAPTON, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street. MDECXXXIX.



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Persians and Grecians.

CONTAINING

BOOK XIV.

The life of Philip, king of Macedon. His birth, education and wars with the feveral states of Greece: the arts by which he reduced them into dependance. His plan to destroy the Persian empire, and his unfortunate end.

BOOK XV.

The life of Alexander the Great. His birth, education, accession to the throne; excessive ambition, and conquests over the nations neighbouring to Macedon. His expedition against the Persians. His victories over Darius; journey to Jerusalem; march through the desarts of Libya. He ruins the Persian empire. His conquests in India, particularly over Porus. His return to Babylon; intemperance and death. The judgment which ought to be formed of Alexander.

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THE

THE ANCIENT

HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

PREFACE.

HE reigns of Philip king of Macedon and Alexander his son, which are the subject of this volume, contain the space of thirty-fix years; the reign of the former including twenty-four, and that of the latter, twelve. They extend from the first year of the CVth Olympiad, or the year of the world 3644, to the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad, which answers to the year of the world 3680.

The kings, who reigned during that time in Persia, were Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses and Darius Codomannus. The Persian empire expired with the last.

We know not any thing concerning the transactions of the Jews during these thirty six years, except what we are told by Josephus, Book xi. chap 7 and 8. of his Antiquities of the Jews, under the high-priests John or Johanan, and Jaddus. These will be mentioned in the course of this history, with which that of the Jews is intermixed.

The above-mentioned space of thirty-six years (with respect to the Roman history) extends from the 393d to the 429th year from the soundation of Rome. The great men, who made the most conspicuous figure among the Romans during that space of time, were Appius Claudius the dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Tit. Manlius Torquatus, L. Papirius Cursor, M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and the two Decii,

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Decii, who devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country.

The names of Philip and Alexander, of whom we are now to speak, are so well known, that it would be superstuous to inform our readers, that the history of those two princes is very important and affecting.

It were to be wished, that the entire life of Philip of Macedon, written by some antient author, had come down to us; or (since we have no such life) that some modern writer had collected with care, from various authors, the several circumstances relating to it. For want of this, I have had recourse chiefly to * Demosthenes, and the interpreters of this orator; particularly to the notes of M. de Tourreil, and those of Signior † Lucchesini, a noble patrician of Lucca, whose remarks are very learned.

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With regard to Alexander the Great, not to mention Diodorus Siculus, and Justin; Quintus Curtius, Plutarch and Arrian have treated very largely of that monarch. The latter, who was a disciple of Epictetus, was of Nicomedia in Bithynia. He flourished under the emperor Adrian and the two Antonines, Arrian was a foldier, as well as a philosopher and historian; and this appears from the descriptions he gives of battles, which are much more accurate and exact than those of Quintus Curtius. His style is simple and unadorned, and he makes but few or no reflections: but this fimplicity is infinitely fuperior to the splendid diction of the Latin historian. Arrian wrote the campaigns of Alexander the Great in feven books, in imitation of Xenophon, who had related those of Cyrus in the same number of books; which circumstance, with fome refemblance in their styles, has occasioned his be-

^{*} I frequently cite some Greek authors, whose editions I forgot to mention.

Demosthenes, printed at Frankfort, anno 1604. Isocrates, in 8vo. of Paul Stephens, 1604.

Arrian, by James Gronovius; printed at Leyden, in 1704.

[†] These notes were printed at Rome, in 1732.

ing fometimes called the modern Xenophon. His hiftory of India, comprized in one book only, feems in fome measure the sequel and conclusion of that of Alexander.

Ouintus Curtius wrote the same history in ten books : the two first of which were not transmitted to us, but have been supplied by Freinshemius. The time in which Quintus Curtius lived is not exactly known, a circumstance which has occasioned a great dispute aamong the learned; fome of whom place him under Augustus or Tiberius, others under Vespasian, and others again under Trajan. His style is florid and agreeable: his history abounds with judicious reflections and very beautiful speeches; but the latter are generally too long, and have too much the air of declamation. His thoughts, tho' ingenious, and very often extremely just, have however a conceited glitter, an affected brightness, which do not feem to argue the character of the Augustan age. It would be surprizing, if Ouintus Curtius had lived before Quintilian, that the latter in his enumeration of the Latin authors. should have made no mention of so remarkable an historian. Be this as it will (for I leave the decision of it to the learned) I have made great use of that author, as well as of the excellent translation which M. de Vaugelas has given us of him.

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HISTORY

OF

PHILIP.

SECT. I. The birth and infancy of Philip. Beginning of his reign. His first conquests. The birth of Alexander.

ACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, fituated in antient Thrace, and bounded on the fouth by the mountains of Theffaly; on the east by Bœotia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestes; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, samous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II, who is reckoned the fixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years beVol VI.

B fore,

fore, that is, Anno Mundi 3212, and before Christ 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring

people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and confequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithstanding this, Demo-Sthenes often stiles them Barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. (a) Alexander, king of Macedon in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympic games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being descended originally from Argos. (b) The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter, that Mardonius was determined to charge them by furprize at day-break. justified his perfidy by his antient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The antient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themselves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest. Of this we have several instances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were distaissfied, became their tributary; which continued from their settling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon the son of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponnesian war, till Brasidas, the Lacedemonian general, about the fifth or sixth year of that war, raised that whole province against them, and

drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the

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⁽a) Herod. L 5. c. 22.

⁽b) Idem, 1. 9. c. 44.

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(c) Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-fixth Olympiad. Having, the very year after, been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the blood-royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years. (d) Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was defirous of refuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill fituation of his affairs had obliged him to refign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head fingly against so powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians in particular fent him fuccours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatned him with a total and impending ruin. (e) It was then that Amyntas, in an affembly of the Greeks, to which he had fent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

(f) Philip, one of the fons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot diffinguish him better, than

⁽c) A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. Diod. l. 14. p. 307, 341. (d) A. M. 3621. Alt. J. C. 333. (e) Æschin de 121. legat. p. 400. (f) A. M. 3(21. Ant. J. C. 383.

by calling him the father of fuch a fon, as * Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

(g) Amyntas died, after having reigned twentyfour years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas

and Philip, and a natural fon named Ptolomy.

Alexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother an infant, into their hands, by way of hostage, who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

(b) The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but Paufanias, a prince of the blood-royal, who had been exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by feizing some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had fent him with a small fleet; not to besiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, defired to fee him, intending to request his affistance against Pausanias. When he was come into the palace, and had feated himself, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, takes her two children Perdiccas and + Philip, and fets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; she then spoke thus to him: " Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of "these unhappy orphans, had always a love for your

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⁽g) A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. 7. c. 4. (b) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Æsch. de fals. legat. p. 399, 400.

^{*} M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim cæteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lu-

men illud progenuit, ex filio est nominandus. De Offie. l. z. n. 66. † Philip was then not less than nine years old.

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country, and adopted you for his fon. This double tie lays you under a double obligation. The

amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires that you should acknowledge us publickly for

vour friends; and the tenderness which that father 66 had for your person, claims from you the heart of a

" brother to these children." Iphicrates, moved with this fight and discourse, expelled the usurper, and re-

stored the lawful fovereign.

(i) Perdiccas * did not continue long in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose: this was Ptolomy his brother, natural fon of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as fuch. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both fides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to + Thebes, where he refided feveral years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-lov'd fon, earnestly befought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the inftructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under

* Plutarch supposes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolomy difputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Æschines, who, being his cotem-

(i) Plutarch. in Pelop. p. 292.

porary, is more worthy of credit.

I therefore thought proper to substitute Perdiccas instead of Alexander.

+ Thebis triennio obses habitus. prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe severitatis antiquæ, & in domo Epaminondæ fummi & philosophi & imperatoris, deposuit. Justin. 1.7. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.

whom he undoubtedly made fome campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, that is to say, a wife and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions, which however formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage: But with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his fincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. (k) After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him refolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly furprized at having loft their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle with the Illyrians, but much more fo, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infested it with perpetual incursions; the Thracians were determined to place Paufanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretentions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to support with a strong sleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Phi-

(k) Died. l. 16. p. 407. Juffin. l. 7. c. 5.

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lip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. (1) Accordingly Philip, at twenty-sour years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the CVth Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people: Accordingly, he provides for and remedies every thing, revives the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinstates and disciplines the army. (m) He was inflexibly rigid in the last point, well knowing that the success of all his enterprizes depended on it. A soldier who was very thirsty went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became so famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of an army the world had ever seen, and might dispute precedency in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it from the idea suggested by (n) Homer. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by the assemblage or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the facred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen soot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them

⁽¹⁾ A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Diod. l. 16. p. 404, 413. (m) Ælian. l. 14. c. 49. (n) Iliad. N. v. 130.

with the title of his * comrades or companions; and by fuch marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the series of our history, yet being placed separately, may probably please, especially by the judicious reslexions of a man so well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of, was, the negotiating a captious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sends ambassadors to Athens, spares neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the ad-

vantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not feem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-sour years of age, as like a politician prosoundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. (0) He had seized upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up

(o) Polyæn. Stratag. 1. 4. c. 17.

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^{*} πεζέταιρ fignifies verbatim, a foot-soldier, comrade, companion.

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to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republic, and in this manner to set them at variance with their antient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promises and presents; resolving to attack them, after he had disunited his enemies, and weakened them by that disunion.

This address and subtlety established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon sound himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, deseats him, kills a great number of his soldiers, and takes a multitude prisoners; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power: he afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to restore to him all the

places possessed by them in Macedonia.

(p) Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Eubœa. That island, which is separated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont. (q) It had been subject to the Athenians, who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Eubœans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the affistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and eafily made the faction they espoused trium-

⁽p) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358. (9) Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 4. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 613. Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441.

phant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless senfibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private refentments, they immediately gave them fuch powerful fuccour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restore the inhabitants their cities and liberty, perfuaded, fays * Æschines in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having reflored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without defiring any other benefit for all their fervices, than the glory of having appeafed the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other states; and it was this gave rise to (r) the war of the allies, of which I have spoken else-

where.

Hitherto Philip, that is during the first years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domestic divisions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to disable them, by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakned themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes having weakned itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his

(r) A. M. 3646.

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^{*} Ούχ ήγεμενοι δίκαιον είναι την όργην δπομυνημονεύειν έν τῶ : ισοθθώναι.

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turn to the fovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he revolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its intestine seuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spared neither artifices, open force, presents or promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties and alliances, and each of them in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the success of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, in all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy,

either by open invafions or fecret intrigues.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had seized upon Amphipolis, because well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. (s) The inhabitants of this city being threatned with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republic rejected their offer, for sear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. (t) However, this monarch was not so delicate in this point;

⁽s) Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 2. (t) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358. Diod. p. 412.

for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a consederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of missortunes.

(u) Philip had promifed the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promife had made them supine and unactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was in no manner the virtue he professed. So far from surrendring this city, he also possessed himself of * Pydna and of † Potidæa. The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to

engage them in his interest.

(x) From thence he proceeded to feize Crenides, which the Thasians had built two years before, and which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents, that is, about an hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling, a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip sirst caused the golden species to be coined there, which outlived monarchy. Superiority of sinances is of endless

(4) Diod. p. 412.

(x) Diod. p. 413.

Horat. 1. 2. Ep. ad August. Cherilus them this for of for most

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^{*} Pydna, a city of Macedon, situated on the gulf antiently called Sinus Thermaicus, and now Thrace. It was but sixty stadia, or three leagues from Olynthus.

Gratus Alexandro Regi magno fuit ille Chœrilus, incultis qui versibus & male natis Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.

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rnt endless advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

(y) Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms. But Philip thought, spoke and acted in a quite different manner. (z) It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer:

'Αργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχε κζ πάντα κρατήσεις.
Make coin thy weapons and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the priestes became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. * It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece,

Cherilus the Pelean youth approv'd,
Him he rewarded well, and him he low'd;
His dull, uneven werse, by great good fate,
Got him his sawours, and a sair estate.

Creech's Hor.

Hic sunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Phi-

(y) Philip 3. p. 92.

lippi.

(z) Suidas.

Plaut. in Poen.

* Callidus emptor Olynthi. Juv. Sat. XII. 47.
Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, qu'àm victor.
Val. Max. lib. 7. c. 2.

Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos Reges muneribus.

When engines, and when arts do fail, The golden wedge can cleave the wall; Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew. Horat. lib. 3. Od. 16.

Creech's Hor.

and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And indeed he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers

could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was fon of Alcetas, king of Molossus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, sirnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the CVIth Olympiad. (a) Philip, who at that time was absent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable * advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, Great Jupiter, in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight missortune.

(b) We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. I am to inform you, said he, that I have a son born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I may justly promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of Macedonia. What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reslections on it as

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⁽a) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Justin. l. 12. c. 16. Plut in Apophth, p. 187. (b) Aul. Gel. l. 9. c. 3.

^{*} Plutarch supposes, that this but this city had been taken two news was brought him immedistely after the taking of Potidaa,

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he shall think proper; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such an one; * for every son is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip † put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the soundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalank.

(c) This | was a body of infantry, confifting of fixteen thousand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the center of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks EAPIEEA, (sarissa.) This pike was fourteen cubits long, that is, twenty-one French seet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was composed of fixteen hundred men, an hundred foot in rank and fixteen in file. Sometimes the file of fixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided according to occasion; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two deep: but its usual and regular depth was of fixteen.

(c) Polyb. l. 17. p. 764-767. Id. l. 12. p. 664. Ælian. de inftruend. acieb.

* Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quanquam suus cuique dignus est.) Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

† An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio fuo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele fummo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc osticium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque optime tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset? Quincil. ibid.

Decem & fex millia peditum.
more Macedonum armati fuere,
qui phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc
media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa. Tit. Liv. 1. 37.
n. 40.

The space between each soldier upon a march was fix foot, or which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about six foot as under. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three foot distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occupying only

the space of a foot and an half.

This evidently shews the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of sixteen thousand men at sixteen deep, and consequently always a thousand men in front. This space or distance in the first case was six thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten surlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up but sive surlongs, or five hundred fathoms *. And in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two surlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three seet in breadth and depth between each soldier. We observed above, that their pikes were sourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and consequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rest, projected two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of the sourths sour, those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers who formed the first rank advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

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The reader will eafily conceive, that when the foldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unweildy machine, every part of which bristled with pikes as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The foldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which (not to mention their shields) secured them from darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The foldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great as-fistance in battle to those in the front of them. For by supporting them behind with their utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset; they gave their comrades such a force as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of slight by the rear; so that they were under the neces-

fity either to conquer or die.

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And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the foldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and fenfible manner. The Roman foldiers (for it is those he compares to the Greeks in the place in question) fays he, take up in fight, three feet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to right and left in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we must be obliged to suppose the distance of three feet between every soldier. In this manner every Roman foldier takes up fix feet, that

that is, twice as much distance as one of the * phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we before observed. Now 'tis impossible for a single soldier to break, or

force his way through ten pikes.

(d) This Livy shews evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city. † The conful, fays he, made his cohorts to advance in order, if possible to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a tortoife; the Romans, I fay, drew their fwords. But it was not poffible for them either to come to a close engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike ferved as a point; fo that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

(e) Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, any thing so formidable as this

(d) Liv. l. 32. n. 17. (e) Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

foldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half so much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

† Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ cuneum Macedonum, (phalangem ipsi vocant) si possent, vi perrumperunt, emittebat — Ubi conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis præ se Macedones objecissent, velut in constructam densitate clypeorum testudinem, Romani pilis nequicquam emissis, cum strinxissent gladios; neque congredi propiùs neque præcedere hastas poterant; &, si quam incidissent aut præsregissent, hastile fragmento ipso acuto, inter spicula integrarum hastarum, velut vallum explebat. phali dread on h

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phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle had made so strong an impression upon him, as almost made him despair of the victory.

From what has been faid above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheless, we find by history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, so long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being so, it required a slat even spot of ground of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill or river. Now we seldom find a spot of this kind, of sisteen, twenty or more surlongs * in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the

phalanx is but a part.

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But let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks) that a tract of ground, fuch as could be wished, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops drawn up in a form of a phalanx be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in case the enemy should come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the center for instance) to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In this case it is manifest the phalanx would be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the fame time that those foldiers, who are pursuing the enemy, may be attacked in the fame manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the antients sought; which certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an es-

fential part of it.

^{*} Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

Hence appears, as (f) Mr. Bossuet observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian * phalanx formed of one large body, very thick on all fides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property, (these are Polybius's words) that is to fay, its folidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of fuch tracts, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the foldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and fituations, and fuits itself to them. It is united or feparated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very eafily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

(g) This enabled Paulus + Æmilius to gain his cele-

(f) Discourse on universal History. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. 44. n. 41. (g) Plutarch in Paul.

* Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, & unius generis: Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans; facilis partienti quacumque opus esset, facilis jungenti. Tit. Liv. l. q. n. 19.

Erant pleraque fylvestria circà, incommoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quæ, nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit (quod ut siat, libero campo opus est) nullius admodum usus est. Id. 1. 31. n. 39.

† Secunda legio immissa distipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victorize suit, quàm quòd multa passim prælia erant, quæ sluctuantem turbarunt primò, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus confertæ, & intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine & gravitate hastam cogas, consusa strue implicantur: si vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Sicut tum adversus catervatim irruentes Romanos, & interrupta multisariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur: & Romani, quacumque data inter-

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brated victory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together) holding their pikes with both hands, and prefenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and fo made a dreadful flaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes; Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx was obliged to leave feveral openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not, as before, in front, and in a general onfet, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the fame time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an instant, and its whole force, which confisted merely in its union and the impression it made all at once, was entirely loft, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

(b) The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in sew words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a surlong, or an hundred sathoms, supposing the distance of one sathom or six foot for each horseman; a space he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten surlongs, or a thousand

fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been faid the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it confifted.

(b) Lib. 12. p. 663.

valla effent, infinuabant ordines fuos. Qui fi universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem

concurriffent induiffent se hastis, nec consertam aciem sustinuissent. Tit, Liw. SECT. II. The facred war. Sequel of the history of Philip. He endeavours in vain to poffess himself of the pass of Thermopyla.

(i) DISCORD, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were facred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of facrilege, some from a spirit of sincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called the facred war, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were fummoned to appear before the Amphictyons, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared facrilegious, and fentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man and of great authority, having proved by fome verses in (k) Homer, that the fovereignty of Delphos belonged antiently to the Phocæans, enflames them against this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much difgusted at the sentence which the Amphictyons had pronounced against them, at the folicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence.' Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch however did not yet dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans,

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⁽i) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Diod. I. 16. p. 425-433. (k) Iliad. l. 2. v. 516.

but promised to affist him with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak refift-The * Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in feveral rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphictyons against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country that he has no defign to feize the riches of the temple, and that his fole view is to restore the Phocæans their antient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a fanction from the god who prefided at Delphos. and to receive fuch an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priestess at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a ferious one. The Amphictyons meeting a fecond time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in savour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed, than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled by this fresh supply,

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^{*} Or, Locri.

to double the pay of his foldiers, he raised a very con-

fiderable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the fuccess for some time feemed doubtful on both fides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with fo venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans, having in a rencounter taken feveral prisoners, condemned them all to die as facrilegious wretches who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the fame by way of reprifal. These had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

(1) This new general had foon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing,

by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehensions of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties

(1) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

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(m) Being defirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of and razed it. (n) He lost one of his eyes before Methone by a very fingular accident. After of Amphipolis had offered his fervice to Philip, as fo excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this anfwer, Well, I will take you into my service when I make war upon sterlings; which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal confequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, To Philip's right eye, and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip fent him back the fame arrow with this inscription, If Philip takes the city, he will hang up After; and accordingly he was as good as his word.

(a) A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. (p) But nevertheless this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word Cyclops, or even the word eye, in his presence. Men however seldom blush for an honourable impersection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when,

Vol. VI.

⁽m) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. p. 434. (n) Suida^S in Kapar. (o) Plin. l. 7. c. 37. (p) Demet Phaler. de Elocut. c. 3.

to confole her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, Now son, every step you take will put

you in mind of your valour.

(q) After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them fome important fervice, marched into Theffaly which had implored his affistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country feemed now fecure, fince Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having for some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thesfalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a fecond time, he was entirely defeated and his army routed. flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of fix thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and three thousand who were taken prisoners were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many facrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy fuccess of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards fo great a share in his victories and those of his fon.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the same advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army; and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom

(p) Diod. p. 432-435.

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he paid very largely, he went into Bœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides; but at last Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader treading in the steps of his predeceffors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Phocæans opened
their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all
those to account who had any concern in the public
monies. Upon this Phalecus was deposed; and, after
an exact enquiry, it was found that from the beginning
of the war, there had been taken out of the temple
upwards of ten thousand talents, that is, about one

million, five hundred thousand pounds.

(r) Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, refolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This is his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to posses himfelf of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hasted to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves very seasonably of this important pass, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; fo that he was obliged to return back in to Macedonia.

⁽r) A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

SECT. III. Demosthenes, upon Philip's attempting Thermopylæ, harangues the Atbenians, and animates them against that prince. Little regard is paid to his oration. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, addresses the Athenians for succour. Demosthenes endeavours by his orations to rouze them out of their lethargy. They send but a very weak succour, and Philip at length takes Olynthus.

A S we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the fame men, and had no longer the fame maxims, and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the public good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage to support fatigues of war by fea and land; the fame care of the revenues, the fame willingness to bear falutary advice; the fame discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to public affairs; an aversion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the public treasures in games and shews; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the approaching

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proaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens, at the time the king of Macedon began to

turn his arms against Greece.

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(s) We have feen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylæ. (t) Demosthenes taking advantage of so favourable a disposition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to fet before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were exposed by the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms, and the rapidity of his progress, fpread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near upon despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities entirely to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themfelves of their duty, and that in spight of their activity and their utmost efforts Philip had prevailed over them, they then indeed would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes infifts strongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians; and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness as even infults the Athenians.

"See," fays Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, "to what a height the arrogance of that man rises, who will not suffer you to chuse either action

or repose; but employs menaces, and, as fame fays, speaks in the most insolent terms; and, not

" contented with his first conquests, but incapable of

" fatiating his lust of dominion, engages every day

"in some new enterprize. Possibly, you wait till necessity reduces you to act; can any one be greater

(1) A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352. (1) Demosth. 1 Philip.

"then for ever walk the public place with this question in your mouths, What news is there? Can there be greater news, than that a Macedonian has vanquished the Athenians, and made himself the supreme arbiter of Greece? Philip is dead, says one; he is only sick, replies another." (His being wounded at Methone had occasioned all these reports.) "But whether he be sick or dead is nothing to the purpose, O Athens! For the moment after heaven had delivered you from him, (should you still behave as you now do) you would raise up another Philip against yourselves; since the man in question owes his grandeur infinitely more to your indolence,

" than to his own strength." But Demosthenes, not fatisfied with bare remonstrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place, he advises the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty gallies, and to refolve firmly to man them themselves. He requires them to reinforce these with ten gallies lightly armed, which may ferve as a convoy to the fleet and transports. With regard to the land forces, as in his time the general, elected by the most powerful faction, formed the army only of a confused affemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little fervice; Demosthenes requires them to levy no more than two thousand chosen troops, five hundred of which shall be Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies; with two hundred horse, fifty of which shall also be Athenians.

The expence of this little army, with regard only to provisions and other matters independent from their pay, was to amount to little more per month than ninety * talents, (ninety thousand crowns) viz. forty talents for ten convoy gallies, at the rate of twenty

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^{*} Each talent was worth a thousand crowns.

minæ (a thousand livres) per month for each galley: forty talents for the two thousand infantry, and ten drachmas (five livres) per month for each foot-foldier: which five livres per month make a little more than three-pence farthing French money per diem. Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horse, at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) per month for each horseman; which fifteen livres per month make ten fols per diem. The reason of my relating this so particularly is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of provisions is not a confiderable step, he is very much mistaken; for he is persuaded, that provided the forces don't want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing besides; and that without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of fufficient acquifitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be surprized at Demosthenes's requiring so small a body of sorces, he gives this reason for it, viz. that at present the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a sufficient sorce in the field; and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, observe, harrass, and keep close to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprizes with ease, as they might think fit to

attempt.

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What the success of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, according to the supineness natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very savourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one side employed themselves wholly in reducing the strength of

Thebes their rival; whilst on the other side, the Theffalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most resolute manner to Philip; and assisted him (undesignedly) in making chains for themselves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could scarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who since the deseat of Xerxes had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tribu-

taries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter, upon his accession to the crown. However, being not firmly established on his throne, he at first employed diffimulation, and requested the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortress, which he had conquered in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to beliege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who faw the florm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an affembly of the people, and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the affembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four and thirty, did not freak till after his feniors had discussed the matter a long time.

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(u) In this * discourse, the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpose he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one fide he is a man, whose unbounded ambition the empire of the world would not fatiate, an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies as fo many subjects or flaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too flow a fubmission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the overfights and errors of others, feizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of feafons; an intrepid hero, who rushes thro' obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse trafficks, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she feems to have forgot her inconstancy: But on the other fide, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, digs himself the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, breaca of faith and villany; an usurper, hated univerfally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which,

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be of great weight on this eccasion, changes the order generally observed in Demosthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiacs. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

⁽u) Olynth: 2.

^{*} The cration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthiacs, which relate to this subject. But M. de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassens, which ought to

by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his foldiers, and of all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourreil draws, by uniting the feveral detached lineaments in the present oration of Demosthenes. In it is shewn the great freedom with which the Athenians

fpoke of fo powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the antient order and regulations, to appeare domestic dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the public service; and that, at a common expence, every man according to his abilities may concur to the destruction of the common enemy.

Demades *, bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty gallies and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent necessity which so nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could

obtain affiftance only from the Athenians.

However, this fuccour did not prevent the designs of Philip, or the progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, the fortress of Gira, and spreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invasion, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement.

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^{*} Suidas in voce Anuadas.

Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiac generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the surface, if they do not rouze from their lethargy: For that, in case Philip seizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expences requisite for the succour of the Olynthians, because the military sunds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of

the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedæmonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of referve, a thousand talents every year; at the fame time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulfing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervor which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute among them in times of peace * the thousand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public shews, upon condition however, that they might refume this fund in time of war. The propofal was approved, and the But, as all concessions of this kind restriction also. degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were fo highly pleased with this distribution (called by Demades a glue by which the Athenians would

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^{*} These games, besides the two of the persons present, occasioned a oboli which were distributed to each great number of other expenses.

be catched) that they absolutely would not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse was carried to such a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which opposed Demosthenes, prohibited any person, upon pain of death, so much as to propose the restoring, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public shews. Apollodorus was even punished, for declaring himself

of a contrary opinion, and for infifting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations fo very flow, as quite defeated the defign of them, without lessening the expence. As the artificers and fea-faring people, who composed above two thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their fubstance, and only gave their persons, the whole weight of the taxes fell intirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the public monies being fquandered upon festivals, comedies, and the like superfluities. But the people, being fensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to fubtract from their diversions, merely to ease people who possessed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this to the people feriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After shewing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprizes of Philip, he hints (but in a distant way) that those sunds which were expended in theatric representations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commissioners might be nominated,

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Oly niar betr mod tim gold py c fells not to enact new laws, (there being already but too many established) but to examine and abolish such as should be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment. as enacted by those laws; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law, which grieved the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this fad necessity, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they

observed a fearful, prevaricating silence.

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These remonstrances do not seem to have the success they deserved, fince in the following Olynthiac, (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigoroufly attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill ferved by the venal fuccours of Athens, required, by a third embaffy, a body of troops which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a fincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory, and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest folicitation of Demosthenes, fent Chares a fecond time, with a reinforcement of seventeen gallies, of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

(y) The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the fuccours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Lasthenes, two of its most eminent citizens, in actual employment at that Thus Philip entred by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and fells the rest for slaves; and distinguishes those who had

⁽y) A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. 16. p. 450-452. betrayed

betrayed their city, no otherwise than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them. This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason, but abhorred the traitor. And indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? (2) Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lasthenes for their persidy, who complaining to Philipupon that account, he only made them this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself: Don't mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its real name.

The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. (a) Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

He now caused shews and public games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added feasts, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

SECT. IV. Philip declares in favour of Thebes against the Phocæans, and thereby engages in the sacred war. He lulls the Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Demosthenes, into security, by a pretended peace and false promises. He seizes on Thermopylæ, subjects the Phocæans, and puts an end to the sacred war. He is admitted into the council of the Amphistyons.

(b) THE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phocæans, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neu-

(2) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178. (b) A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

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trality with respect to the facred war; and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himfelf, that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The infrant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic, in opposition to the Phocæans. He had not lost fight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master To give fuccess to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not fo void of fense as to imagine, that the latter party would affift his defign of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in-order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to skreen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and fometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

(c) There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened

⁽c) Demosth, Orat. de falsa legatione.

him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to posses himself of Phocis: but then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the politics of Philip suc-

ceeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthensome and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Cteliphon and Phrynon to found the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians refolved to fend a folemn embaffy, to enquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately fent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demosthenes, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promifed to return and ranfom them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himself to keep his word; and in the mean time advises his collegues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded; and to wait as foon as poffible upon Philip, in what place foever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch

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as they were defired, go an ambaffador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, flay three months in that country, and give Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them afleep with the specious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors one after another by presents, Demosthenes excepted, who being but one, opposed his

collegues to no manner of purpose.

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In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in Theffaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuses to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had figned the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially to those who were averse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was (d) Isocrates. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical ledures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and fuccefs. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others ferved their country viva voce, in the public affemblies, Isocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and thefe being foon made public, were very eagerly fought after.

On the present occasion, he writ a piece of considerable length which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and

⁽d) Ifocrat Orat, ad Philip.

eight. The scope of this discourse was, to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms against the king The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes and Argos. He confesses, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he should have been far from making such a propofal, which he was fenfible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republics, whilst sustained and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had began to fet them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the feveral cities of Greece.

In case he (Philip) should be so happy as to succeed in such a project; so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and considence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preserable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crasty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but at the same time has in reality no other object in view but the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes that rumours so injurious as these, have no manner of soundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended

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from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and possessing himself of it. But these very reports, which are so capable of blackening his name, and of sullying all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the fassity of them in the presence of all Greece by the least suspicious of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties; in removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality; in not espousing the interest of one people against another; in winning the considence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice; in fine, by aspiring at no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Persia's dominions he ought to merit those last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind that Agesilaus, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne; and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the intestine divisions which then broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip against a prince inferior in every respect to him

whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterprize, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads: That this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it himself; and this being done,

that

that he should turn his victorious arms against a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed, that this is a most noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation or difinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was perfuaded, that it was his business to secure himself first of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by fervices but force. He did not endeavour either to win over or perfuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and was for assuring himself of them by much stronger ties than those of friendship,

gratitude and fincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgment of Philip's defigns. Upon his return from his embaffy, he declares expressly, that he does not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, affures the Athenians that he had difcovered the greatest candor and fincerity in the promises and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Thespiæ and Platææ should be repeopled, in spight of the opposition of the Thebans; that in case he should proceed fo far as to subject the Phocæans, he would preserve them, and not do them the least injury; that he would restore Thebes to the good order which had before been observed in it; that Oropus should be given up absolutely to the Athenians; and that in lieu of Amphipolis they should be put in possession of Euboea. It was to no purpose that Demosthenes remonstrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all these glorious promises, endeavoured to posfels that com He enga

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fels himself, in an absolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him, they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not heard, and the oration of Æschines, who engaged that Philip would make good his several pro-

mises, prevailed over that of Demosthenes.

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(e) These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to possess himself of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no possibility of reducing the Phocæans; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare found of his name filled them with terror. Upon the supposition that he was marching against a herd of facrilegious wretches, not against common enemies, he ordered all his foldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himself whose honour they revenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themselves overcome. Accordingly they sue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the eight thousand men in his service. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engroffed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. * This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topic of all conversations in that country. He was confidered as the avenger of facrilege and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not feem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, affembles the council of the Amphictyons, and appoints them, for form fake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had ren-

⁽e) A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diod. l. 16. p. 455.

* Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo glorize dedit. Illum vindicem facrilegii, illum ultorem religionum.

1. Diod. l. 16. p. 455.

Itaque Diis proximus habetur, per quem Deorum majeftas vindicata fit. Jufin. l. 8. c. 2.

dered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they shall all be reduced to small towns of fixty houses each. and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who have committed facrilege shall be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphos shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their feat in the council of the Amphictyons, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphictyons, the instrument of whose vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refusing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendance of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thesfalians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the sacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traytor, who had fold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were feized, for having failed in the obligations of the * confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phocis, was become mafter of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and

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^{*} With the Phocaans,

put into his hands the keys of Greece. (f) The A-thenians therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piræus fortified, in order to put themselves into a state of desence in case of an invasion.

The Athenians had no share in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphictyons. They perhaps had absented themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence; or, which is more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his defign, affembled fuch of the Amphictyons only as were entirely at his devotion. In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an affembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, feveral were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes however was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it in the present juncture; fince that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians, both the new Amphictyon, and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves unseasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refufal, to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphictyons; and protested, that it was their interest to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what

(f) Demost. de fals. legat. p. 312.

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was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, Oration on the peace. We may probably believe that his advice was followed,

SECT. V. Philip, being returned to Macedonia, extends his conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a league with the Thebans, the Messenians, and the Argives, to invade Peloponnesus in concert with them. Athens declaring in favour of the Lacedæmonians, this league is dissolved. He again attempts Eubæa, but Phocion drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian. Philip besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the orations of Demosthenes, send succours to those two cities, under the command of Phocion, who forces him to raise the siege of those places.

(g) AFTER Philip had fettled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. (b) Diodorus observes, that all those who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple perished miserably, and came to

a tragical end.

(i) Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylæ; that he had subjected Phocis; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphictyon; and that he had gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity: judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all suspicion, and to sooth the disquietudes which

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3669. Liban. ii

⁽g) A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344. (b) Diod. l. 16. p. 456. (i) Diod. p. 463.

arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep always his troops in exercise by some new

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expedition, would be determined The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had disposses'd the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquests there. * Suidas observes, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonefus also was fituated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninfula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, after Lyfander had destroyed Athens: but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the fon of Timotheus, had reinstated his country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then dispossessed the Athenians of Chersonesus; (k) but it was afterwards restored to them by Cherfobleptus, fon of Cotys, who finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the CVIth Olympiad; referving however to himfelf Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed as it were the gate and entrance of it. (1) After Philip had deprived Chersobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the fecond year of the CIXth Olympiad (m), the inhabitants of Cardia, being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city which formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

(n) Diopithes, principal of the colony which the

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⁽k) Diod. l. 16. p. 434. (1) Ibid. p. 464. 3669. Ant. J. C. 335. (n) A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Liban. in Demosth. p. 75.

^{*} In Kapar.

Athenians had fent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth; without waiting for an order, and fully perfuaded that it would not be difavowed, marches fuddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilft he was carrying on an important war in upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged fafe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to revenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received pensions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against Diopithes; impeach him of involving the state in a war; accuse him of extortion and piracy; infift upon his being recalled, and purfue his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the public welfare was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his desence, which is the subject of his oration on Chersonesius. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied

fo faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal; he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare * decree, an accusation in due

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^{*} It was called Πάραλ ..

form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled; all this is fufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprizes. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops, and fitting out gallies.

Your orators, fays he, cry out eternally to you, "that we must make choice either of peace or war; 66 but Philip does not leave this at our option, he who

44 is daily meditating some new enterprize against us.

46 And can we doubt but it was he who broke the

es peace, unless it is pretended, that we have no rea-

" fon to complain of him, as long as he shall forbear " making any attempts on Attica and the Piræus?

But it will then be too late for us to oppose him;

" and it is now we must prepare strong barriers a-

gainst his ambitious designs. You ought to lay it

"down as a certain maxim, O Athenians, that it is " you he aims at; that he confiders you as his most

dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can esta-

66 blish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; and

that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with

"the view of falling upon you, and of reducing A-

thens to a state of subjection. And indeed can any

" of you be so vastly simple, as to imagine that Phi-

lip is fo greedy of a few paltry * towns, (for what

other name can we bestow on those he now attacks?) that he submits to fatigues, seasons and dangers,

" merely for the fake of gaining them; but that as

6 for the harbours, the arfenals, the gallies, the filver

" mines, and the immense revenues of the Atheni-

ans; that he, I say, considers these with indiffe-

rence, does not covet them in the least, but will

" fuffer you to remain in quiet possession of them? What conclusion are we to draw from all that has

been faid? Why, that fo far from cashiering the

army we have in Thrace, it must be considerably

" reinforced and strengthened by new levies, in or-

* In Thrace.

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"der, that as Philip has always one in readiness to op"press and enslave the Greeks, we, on our side, may
"always have one on foot, to defend and preserve
"them." There is reason to believe, that De-

mosthenes's advice was followed.

(o) The same year that this oration was spoke, Arymbas, king of Molossus or Epirus, died. He was fon of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the credit and authority of his fonin-law, was raifed fo high as to share the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For, after the death of * Arymbas, Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, son and lawful fuccessor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, fon of Neoptolemus, fole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but fon-in-law to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas re-ascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus, (so famous in the Roman history) and fecond cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both those monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. (p) Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the strongest. Argos and Messene being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators that had

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⁽o) Diod. l. 16. p. 465. (p) Demost. in Philip, 2, Libap. in Demosth.

^{*} Justin, book viii. ch. vi. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds this succession.

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been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, so far from that, after having subdued Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them soment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore sollicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily gave into an alliance which fuited with his views. He proposed to the Amphictyons, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained, that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independance, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to fuccour them; and by an embaffy pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The feveral powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented by his ambassadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing fo was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly, that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed said true, with regard to the written articles and the public stipulations; but Æschines had made this promise by word of mouth in his name. On the other fide, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos and Messene, were also

wery urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already fecretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

(q) But Demosthenes, insensible to all these sollicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to enforce the negotiation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposes the ambitious defigns of Philip, which he still pursues; and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. 'S You excel, fays he to them, both you and he, in that circumstance which is the object of your ap-" plication and your cares. You fpeak in a better " manner than him, and he acts better than you. "The experience of the past ought at least to open " your eyes; and make you more suspicious and cir-" cumspect with regard to him: But this serves to no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time 66 his troops are marching towards Peloponnesus; he " is fending money to it, and his arrival in perfon, " at the head of a powerful army, is expected every " moment. Do you think that you will be fecure, " after he shall have possessed himself of the territories " round you? Art has invented, for the security of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts, " walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature fur-" rounds the wife with a common bulwark, which " covers them on all fides, and provides for the fecuis rity of states. What is this bulwark? It is diffi-"dence." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouze from their lethargy; to fend immediate fuccour to the Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestic traytors as have deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them, by fpreading false reports, and employing captious affurances. Salta O person and an abusta 30

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The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Peloponnesus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However, he did not sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time considered Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed set every engine at work at that time, in order to feize upon that island, which he called the Shackles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other fide, not to fuffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it, (r) At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he fent some troops privately thither; possessed himfelf of feveral strong places; difmantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also feized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Euboea, of which it possessed the fourth part; and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

(s) Upon this Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion. (t) That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have in the sequel a

⁽r) Demosth. Philipp. 3. p. 93. (s) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 746, 747. (t) Ibid. p. 743, 745. D 4 great

great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked * baresoot, and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say laughing, See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign

of a hard winter.

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great defigns he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great fuccess. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value; Phocion had formed himself to a lively, close, concise stile, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day abfent in an affembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: I am considering, says he, whether it is not possible for me to retrench any part of the discourse I am to make. He was a strong reasoner, and by that means carried every thing against the most fublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, fay, There's the ax which cuts away the effects of my words. One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the fame things to be often repeated, and with greater extent in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not fo with the Athenians: lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden fense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really un-

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^{*} Socrates used often to walk in that manner.

derstood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which

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Phocion observing that those persons, who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people, and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments; he chose rather to imitate. the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilft he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wife government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predeceffors. He was honoured with the supreme command five and forty times, without having once asked or made interest for it; and was always appointed to command the armies in his absence. The world was astonished, that, being of so severe a turn of mind, and fo great an enemy to flattery of every kind, how it was possible for him in a manner to fix in his own fayour, the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though he frequently used to oppose very strenuously their will and caprice, without regard to their captiousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themselves of his probity and zeal for the public good, extinguished every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence fo efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude; set up the standard against

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them,

my he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprize, won a battle, and drove Plu-

tarch from Eretria.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no fooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to infinuate himself into the minds of men with art; and at the same time he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed him to go with ten light vessels to raise the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. To what purpose, says he, is such a squadron? Too strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too weak, if I am to fight enemies. The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the fignal fervice which Phocion's great capacity, valour and experience had done them, in the expedition of Eubcea. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was fo unfuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

(n) Philip, who did not lay afide the defign he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and fought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. (x) To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority,

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⁽u) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 486, 487. (x) A. M. 3664. Ant. J. C. 340.

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though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, fome proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, fubject to Macedonia, who had confidered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing left, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himfelf inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he fent for him, in order to become his mafter, and form him in person for the trade of war.

Demosthenes still continued his invectives against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouze from their lethargy; and also against the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people upon the specious pretence of a peace he had sworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterprizes he formed against the commonwealth. This is

the subject of his orations, called the Philippics. (y) " Whence comes it, fays he, that all the Greeks " formerly panted fo strongly after liberty, and now run fo eagerly into fervitude? The reason is, because there prevailed at that time among the people, what 56 prevails no longer among us; that which triumphed " over the riches of the Persians; which maintained the freedom of Greece; which never acted incon-" fiftently on any occasion either by sea or by land; but which, being now extinguished in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and subverted the con-" stitution of Greece. It is that common hatred, 66 that general detestation, in which they held every " person, who had a soul abject enough to sell himself to any man who defired either to enflave, or even cor-" rupt Greece. In those times, to accept of a present was a capital crime, which never failed of being " punished with death, Neither their orators nor

(y) Philipp. 3. p. 90.

"their generals exercised the scandalous traffic, now " become so common in Athens, where a price is " fet upon every thing, and where all things are fold

to the highest bidder. The car of the the of (z) "In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a " perfect union, founded on the love of the public " good, and the defire of preferving and defending "the common liberty. But in this age, the states abandon one another, and give themselves up to re-" ciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them without exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less "than others, all, all, I fay, form a separate inte-" rest; and this it is that renders the common enemy

" fo powerful.

(a) " The fafety of Greece confists therefore in our uniting together against this common enemy, if that be possible. But at least, as to what concerns " each of us in particular, this incontestable maxim " it is absolutely necessary to hold, that Philip attacks vou actually at this time; that he has infringed the peace; that by feizing upon all the fortreffes around " you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking vou yourselves; and that he considers us as his mor-" tal enemies, because he knows that we only are able "to oppose the ambitious designs he entertains of " grasping universal power:

(b) "These consequently we must oppose with all " imaginable vigour; and for that purpose must ship off, without loss of time, the necessary aids for " Chersonesus and Byzantium; you must provide " instantly whatever necessaries your generals may re-" quire; in fine, you must concert together on such " means as are most proper to save Greece, which is or now threatened with the utmost danger. (c) Tho'

" all the rest of the Greeks, O Athenians, should 66 bow their necks to the yoke, yet you ought to per-

(z) Philipp. 4. p. 102. (a) Ibid. p. 97. (b) Phi-(c) P. 94, 95. lipp. 3. p. 88. Tionis .22

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(c) I (e) Dic

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" fift in fighting always for the cause of liberty. After fuch preparations, made in presence of all

"Greece, let us excite all other states to second us; let us acquaint every people with our refolutions,

and fend ambaffadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes,

"Chio, and especially to the king of Persia; for it is

" his interest as well as ours, to check the carreer of

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" that man." I stant any that The feguel will shew, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the fiege of Perinthus, a confiderable city of Thrace. (c) The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to fuccour that place, the orators prevailed fo far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was univerfally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed against the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made: (d) But what could be expected from a general, whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great; who took along with him, in his military expeditions, a band of muficians, both vocal and inftrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the monies appointed for the fervice of the fleet! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; so that his fidelity being. univerfally suspected, he was obliged to fail from coast to coast, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

(e) In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the fiege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all

⁽c) Plutarch, in Phoc. p. 747. (d) Athen. 1, 12. p. 530. (e) Diod. 1. 16. p. 466-468.

kinds without. He had raifed towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one fide, he shook the foundations of them by fubterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering rams. Nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as foon as one breach was made, Philip was furprized to fee another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium fent them all the succours necessary. The Afiatic fatrapæ, or governors, by the king of Perfia's order, whose affistance we observed the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the fuccours the Byzantines gave them, went in perfon to form the fiege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was defirous to appear (in outward shew) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the times we now fpeak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the edge of their refertments, by reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the feveral treaties, which he boafts he had observed very religiously; this piece he interspersed very artfully, (for he was a great mafter of eloquence) with fuch complaints and menaces, as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A majeffic and perfuafive vivacity thines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning, fustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and concise stile so proper for crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip, what was

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This letter is fo long, and besides is filled with so great a number of private sacts (though each of these are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which

the reader may form a judgment of the rest. *

"At the time of our most open ruptures," fays Philip to the Athenians, " you went no farther than to fit out privateers against me; to seize and sell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions: " to favour any party that opposed my measures; and " to infest the places subject to me by your hostili-" ties: but now you carry hatred and injustice to such of prodigious lengths, as even to fend ambassadors to the Persian, in order to excite him to declare war " against me. This must appear a most astonishing " circumstance; for before he had made himself master of Egypt and Phœnicia, you had refolved, in " the most solemn manner, that in case he should attempt any new enterprize, you then would invite " me, in common with the rest of the Greeks, to " unite our forces against him. And nevertheless, at this time you carry your hatred to fuch a height, as to negociate an alliance with him against me. I " have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed " to Pififfratus as an unpardonable crime, his having ce requested the succour of the Persian against the "Greeks; and yet you don't blush to commit a 66 thing, which you were perpetually condemning in "the person of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much fervice as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to people, who were very desirous of easing themselves of political disquietudes; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of

^{*} Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit. Quintil, l. 10. c. 1.

Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very induffriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprizes and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was fensible how vastly necessary it was to erase, as foon as possible, the first impressions which the perufal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and fometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip, the idea of an express declaration of war; then, to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he affures them that all things portend the ruin of Philip; Gods, Greeks, Perfians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantagious, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed un-" have been told, that formerly your fithe alderswine

(f) The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced by these truths, "O Athenians, and strongly persuaded, that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, (for Philip has just now declared war against us by his letter, and has long done the same by his considered were possible treations, or the possession of private persons; but, when occasion shall require, haste to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head than

those you have hitherto employed. For, no one (f) Plut in Phoc. p. 748. And the control of the property of the

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" among you ought to imagine, that the same men, who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should contemn dangers to such a degree, that, merely to aggrandize his empire, he should rush into the midst of combats, and teturn from battle covered with wounds: and that Athenians, whose hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to impose law on others sword in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their country."

At the very time they were examining this affair,

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raifed a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having fent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up and told the people, "that they ought not to be exasperated at the dif-" fidence of the allies, but at the conduct of the ge-" nerals who had occasioned it. For it is these, con-"tinued he, who render you odious, and formidable" " even to those who cannot save themselves from de-" ftruction without your affistance." And indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit confisted in having gained a great ascendant over the people by the haughty and bold air he affumed. His prefumption concealed his incapacity from himfelf; and a fordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprizes.

(g) The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies in the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not

(g) A. M. 3665. Ant. J. C. 339.

only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and difinterestedness. The Byzantines on his arrival opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his foldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and foldiers, ftruck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and, in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger feemed only to improve. (h) Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, foon forced Philip to abandon his defign upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellefpont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phocion took fome of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces affembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire after having been

(i) The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here. " Under Bosphoricus the pontiff, * Damagetus, after " having defired leave of the senate to speak, said, in " a full affembly: Inafmuch as in times past the continual benevolence of the people of Athens towards " the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance " and their common origin, has never failed upon any " occasion; that this benevolence, so often fignaized, has lately displayed itself, when Philip of Macedon (who had taken up arms to destroy Bycc zantium and Perinthus) battered our walls, burnt (i) Demosth, pro Ctef. p. 487, 488. (b) Diod. 1. 16. p. 468. * He probably was the chief magistrate.

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" our country, cut:down our forests; that in a season " of fo great calamity, this beneficent people succoured "us with a fleet of an hundred and twenty fail, fur-" nished with provisions, arms and forces; that they " faved us from the greatest danger; in fine, that " they restored us to the quiet possession of our go-" vernment, our laws and our tombs: The Byzan-" tines and Perinthians grant by decree, the Ather " nians to fettle in the countries belonging to Perint " thus and Byzantium; to marry in them, to pur-" chase lands, and to enjoy all the prerogatives of ci-" tizens; they also grant them a distinguished place! " at public shews, and the right of sitting both in " the senate and the affembly of the people, next to " the pontiffs: and further that every Athenian, who " fhall think proper to fettle in either of the two cities " above-mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of " any kind: that in the harbours, three statues of " fixteen cubits each shall be set up, which statues " shall represent the people of Athens crowned by " those of Byzantium and Perinthus: and besides " that presents shall be fent to the four folemn games " of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to " the Athenians, shall there be proclaimed; so that " the fame ceremony may acquaint all the Greeks, " both with the magnanimity of the Athenians, and " the gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of Cherfonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: "Among the "nations inhabiting the Cherfonesus, the people of "Sestos, of Ælia, of Madytis, and of Alopeconnesus, "decree to the people and senate of Athens, a crown of gold of fixty talents *; and erect two altars, the one to the goddess of gratitude, and the other to the Athenians, for their having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, freed from the yoke of "Philip the people of Chersonesus, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws,

^{*} Sixty thousand French crowns.

" their liberty and their temples: an act of benefi-

cence, which they shall fix eternally in their memories, and never cease to acknowledge to the ut-

" most of their power. All which they have resolved

" in full fenate." and flotting set men in to

of Byzantium, marched against Atheas king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he deseated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mæsia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander slew to his father's aid, and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to slight all who attacked him.

SECT. VI. Philip, by his intrigues, gets himself appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphietyons. He possesses himself of Elatea. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed at the conquest of this city, unite against Philip. He makes overtures of peace, which, upon the remonstrances of Demostheres, are rejected. A battle is fought at Charonea, where Philip gains a signal victory. Demostheres is accused and brought to a trial by Eschines. The latter is banished, and goes to Rhodes.

THE Athenians had confidered the fiege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open de-

(k) Justin. 1. 9. c. 2, 3.

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c'aration of war. (1) The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded, that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals.

(m) It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandise it wanted. Philip was fenfible, that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniencies attending it, but by exciting the Theffalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by fea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republic; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him, as long as the Theffalians should refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he should ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very fensible that it would have no effect with either of the states: but that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their

⁽¹⁾ A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 748. (m) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 497, 498.

chief.

chief, (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce with his desires, either by

perfuafioneor deceit. Sham Alexand door aven

This was his aim, the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the defign the meditated. In every city he retained pensioners, who fent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations, he raifed divisions among the Ozolæ, of Locris, otherwise called the Locrians of Amphissa, from their capital city: their country was fituated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having prophaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the Cirrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has feen that a like cause of complaint occasioned the first facred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphictyons. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or fuspicious agent, he plainly faw that the Thebans and the Theffalians would infallibly Suspect his design, in which case all parties would not fail to fland upon their guard. t an envisorement

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his defigns by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the affiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the Pylagori, by which name those were called, who were sent by the several Greek cities to the affembly of the Amphictyons. The instant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in savour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a descent was appointed, in order to visit the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered as the lawful possessor; but which

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Whilst the Amphictyons were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fall upon them at unawares; pour in a shower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew refentment and war upon these Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphictyons, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the renpezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following affembly of the Amphictyons, the affair was debated very ferioufly. It was there Æschines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a studied oration, proved to the deputies or representatives, either that they must affels themselves to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to fave their commonwealth the expence, and fecure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, refolved the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the AmphiEtyons, implore his affistance; befeech him not to neglect the cause of that god, which the impious Amphiffians make their fort; and notify to him, that for this purpose all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphictyons, elect him for their general, with full power to all as he shall think proper.

This was the honour to which Philip had long afpired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had fet at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately affembles his forces, and marches (by a feint) towards the Cirrhean field, forgetting now both the Cirrheans and Locrians, who had only ferved as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elatæa, the greatest city in Phocis standing on the river Cephissus, and the most happily fituated for the defign he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to

perceive the danger they were in.

(n) This news being brought to Athens in the evening, fpread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an affembly was fummoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, Who among you will ascend the tribunal? (o) However, no person appears for that purpose; upon which he repeated the invitation several times, but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were prefent; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured fomebody to propose a falutary counsel: for, fays Demosthenes, from whom these particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be confidered as the voice of the country. During this general filence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were feized, Demosthenes, animated at the fight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately forms a a counfel, which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by feat and the transfer the

The people of Athens were under a double error, with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to shew. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatza has apprized them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most antient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to as-

(a) Demosth. pro Ctef. p. 501—504. (b) Diod. 1. 16. P. 474—477.

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ford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable sine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their savour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his de-" fign, and wherefore did he possess himself of Ela-" tæa? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them with " greater boldness, by appearing at the head of his " army, and advancing his power and forces around " that city. On the other fide, he would firike un-" expectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in " fuch a manner, as may enable him to get the better of it, either by terror or force. Philip, fays he, oreferibes the manner in which you ought to act, by " the example he himself sets you. Assemble, under " Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for service, and support these by your cavalry. " step you will shew all Greece, that you are ready " armed to defend yourselves; and inspire your par-" tisans in Thebes with such resolution, as may ena-" ble them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall " perceive, that as those who sell their country to

* He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Λίπαραι κ' Αοίδιμοι, Έλλάδο έρεισ μα, κλεικά Αθηναι. But the Athenians: not only indemnified the poet, and fent him money to pay his fine, but even crected a statue in honour of him.

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" Philip, have forces in Elatæa ready to affift them upon occasion; in like manner those, who are wil-" ling to fight for the preservation of their own liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend "them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to fend ambaffadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a com-

mon league against Philip.

This prudent and falutary counsel was followed in every particular; and in confequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the feveral enterprizes by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: " For this reason the senate and " people of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred the liberty of "Greece to the fafety of their own country, have " refolved, that after offering up prayers and facrifices, to call down the affistance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and Attica, two hundred fail of ships shall be put to sea. That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as foon as possible, and cruise on 46 the other fide of the pass of Thermopylæ; at the " fame time that the land generals, at the head of a " confiderable body of horse and foot, shall march and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the other "Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these are most threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to 46 dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain couragiously their particular independence, and the common liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared to them, that though formerly fome motives of discontent might have cooled the reciprocal se friendship between them and us, the Athenians however, obliterating the remembrance of past transactions, will now affist them with men, moee ney, darts, and all kind of military weapons; perse suaded that such as are natives of Greece, may, 66 very

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⁽p) Plut. pro Coron.

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"very honourably, dispute with one another for pre"eminence; but that they can never, without sully"ing the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from
"the virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to
despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to

" fo ignominious a flavery."

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(p) Demosthenes, who was at the head of this embassy, immediately set out for Thebes; and indeed he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors to Thebes. Among these * Python was the chief, who distinguished himself greatly by his lively persuasive eloquence, which it was scarce possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were more novices in comparison to him: However, he here met with a superior. (q) And, indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negotiation, at the head of his political exploits.

(r) It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined, and had been considered from the samous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea among the several states of Greece, as those who held the first rank for valour and ability in war. To effect this was no very easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewise because of the antient in-

veterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. These displayed in the strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which

⁽p) Plut. in Demosth. p. 353, 854. (q) Demosth. in orat. po Coron. p. 509. (r) Demosth. ibid.

^{*} This Python was of Byzan-city; after which he went over to timm. The Athenians had present-the Philip. Demosth. p. 193, 745.

the Athenians had made them fuffer. They reprefented to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the slocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Bœotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: but the sight of an orator, who feemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and heightned his vivacity still more. To the captious arguments of Python he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently discovered his defigns. He represented him as a reftlefs, enterprifing, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the defign of enflaving all Greece; but who, to fucceed the better in his schemes, was determined to attack the different states of it fingly: A prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a fnare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to difarm those whose zeal for the public liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprizes. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica; fo far from fatiating the immeasurable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

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(s) The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, says an historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that banishing from their minds every idea of sear, of prudence or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a sit of enthusiasm, and instance them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty ascendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightned by a love and zeal for the public good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respected and seared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, fent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the foldiery discovered incredible ardor. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was faid to have uttered: But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who defired only to march against the enemy, would not fuffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he faid, that the priestess Philippiz'd, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who con-

⁽⁵⁾ Theopom. apud Plut. in vit. Demosth. p. 854.

fidered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprized at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the

enemy.

Philip, on the other fide, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, affembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. This army confifted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse: that of his enemy was not quite fo numerous. The valour of the troops might have been faid to have been equal on both fides; but the merit of the chiefs was not fo. And indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but, not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Chares, univerfally despised, and Lysicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of fuch leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Bæotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his fon Alexander, who was then but fixteen or feventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time animated with a noble ardor for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the considence his father had reposed in him, under whose eye he fought,

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fought, in quality of a commander (for the first time) discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the sacred battalian of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his fon, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they foon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. (t) Lysicles, one of the two generals, having broke into fome troops which formed the center of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and in that rash confidence, cried out, Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedomia. Philip perceiving that the Athenians, instead of feizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, purfued his troops too vigorously; cried out, with a calm tone of voice, The Athenians don't know how to conquer. Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in diforder, were wholly intent on purfuing those they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholfome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the rest. (u) It is even faid, that in his flight his robe being catched by a bramble, he imagined that fome of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, Spare my life. More than a thoufand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was

⁽t) Polyæn, stratag. lib. 4. orat. p. 845.

⁽u) Plut. in vit. dece m

Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip, after having fet up a trophy, and offered to the gods a facrifice of thankfgiving for his victory, diftributed rewards to the officers and foldiers, each ac-

cording to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shews, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's felf, and triumph over one's own paffions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, infulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a fong the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and fung thus (himself beating time) Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes, has said. Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himfelf by this behaviour, and fully his glory by an action fo unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose foul was free though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him : Ab, Sir, fince fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites? These words, spoke with fo generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: And, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendthip, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says * an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces. He dismissed all the

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^{*} Ύπὸ το Δημάδο καθομιληθέντας ταῖς Ατλικαῖς χάρισι. Died.

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Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them cloaths; with the view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind treatment: In which, says Polybius (x), he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous than the tirst; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the antient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Boeotians a peace, after ha-

(y) We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his stile and of his works.

ving left a strong garrison in Thebes.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. (2) But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have considered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the solses, were all in conse-

⁽x) Polyb. 1. 5. p. 359. (y) Plut. in Isocr. p. 837. (z) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 514. Plutarch. in Demosth. p. 855.

quence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls; which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to desiray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all rose up, in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and sidelity over-

balance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, a fickle, wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly; in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having sollowed his counsel neither sully nor early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

(a) But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the elogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a

(a) Plut. ibid. Demosth, pro Ctef. p. 519, 520.

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circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

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This earth entombs those victims to the state.

Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.

Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant-chains,.

Did by their deaths alone escape the yoke.

This Jupiter decreed: no effort, mortals,

Can save you from the mighty will of fate.

To gods alone belongs the attribute

Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.

(b) Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question with this solid answer: " Censure me (says he) for the counsels I give; but don't calumniate me for the ill fuccess of them. For it is the supreme Being who conducts and terminates " all things; whereas it is from the nature of the " counsel itself that we are to judge of the intention of him who offers it. If therefore the event has " declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, fince 'tis God and not my felf, who " disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that "I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and " an activity indefatigable, and superior to my " strength: if with these I did not seek, I did not " employ every method which human prudence could " fuggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and " noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of A-" thenians; shew me this, and then give what scope you please to your accusations."

(c) He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus (d). Demosthenes endeavours to justify his

e, Ibid. p. 508.

⁽b) Demosth. pro Cte. p. 505.

own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not fatisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the fame cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Platææ: No, he makes a quite different use of them, fays this rhetorician; and on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himfelf, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: No, Athenians! you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Platææ; at sea before Salamis and Artemifium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the folemn rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious. Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of fo extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in fome measure, those antient citizens; and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to fwear?

I have already observed in another place, how naturally apt these * orations (spoke in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.

(e) Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shews were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans drest

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⁽e) Æfchin. contra Ctefiph. p. 452.

^{*} Demosthenes, in his oration to be spoke in honour of such persons, against Leptines, p. 562. observes, as had lest their lives in the destat the Athenians were the only sense of their country.

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in compleat armour, he faid with a loud voice: "These young orphans, whom an untimely death " in the midst of dangers has deprived of their il-" lustrious fathers, have found in the people a parent, " who has taken care of them till no longer in a state " of infancy. And now they fend them back, armed " cap-a-pee, to follow, under the most happy auspi-" ces, their own affairs; and invite each of them " to emulate each other in deferving the chief em-" ployments of the state." By such methods, martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a tafte for virtue and folid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæronea. and two years before the death of Philip, that Æschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes: but the cause was not pleaded till feven or eight years after, about the fifth or fixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiofity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. * People flocked to it from all parts (fays Cicero) and they had great reafon for fo doing; for what fight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual diffensions, and an

implacable animofity against each other?

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes. (f) Cicero had translated the latter, a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that perfor-

morum oratorum, in gravissima causa, accurata & inimicitiis incensa contentio ? Cicer, de opt. gen. or at. n. 22.

⁽f) De opt. gen. orat.

^{*} Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur è tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam fum-

mance is now extant, which fuffices to make us very

much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidit the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to censure the writings of fuch great men, a confiderable error, that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of folid, just eloquence; and that is, the gross injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The fame objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, were the very reverse of solid eloquence; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by paffion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which at the fame time is conducted with referve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he had always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himfelf in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: and it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; But what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself!

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To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest: for the instant Æschines lest Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion Æschines cried out: * How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, that I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!

SECT. VII. Philip, in the assembly of the Amphicityons, is declared general of the Greeks against the Pérsians, and prepares for that expedition. Domestic troubles in his houshold. He divorces Olympias, and marries another lady. He solemnizes the marriage of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed at the nuptials.

(g) THE battle of Chæronea may be faid to have enslaved Greece. Macedon at that time. with no more than thirty thousand foldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Platææ, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulfed, divided, and difarmed his enemies. In the fucceeding ones, he had subjected by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no less a defign, than the destruction of their empire. (b) The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never loft fight of) was, to get himself appointed in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the

⁽g) A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337. (b) Diod. l. 16. p. 479.

* Some authors ascribe these fate as Æschines, and was also words to Devosthenes, when, three banished from Athens.

years after, he met with the same.

Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them fet out for Asia minor.

(i) But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneafiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric and vindictive, raifed diffenfions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said, that his confort had repaid his infidelity in kind. whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded fo far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been difgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was fo exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's fide, took it in. to his head to fay, that the Macedonians ought to befeech the gods to give them a lawful fucceffor to their king. Upon this, Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, Wretch that thou art, doft thou then take me for a baftard? and at the fame time flung the cup at his Attalus returned the compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who fat at another table, was very much offended to fee the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his fword and ran directly at his fon. Happily, the father fell, fo that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest

(i) Plut. in Alex. p. 669.

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difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in the bitter words following: The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to cross from Europe into Asia; he, who cannot step from one table to another, without running the hazard of breaking his neck. After these words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him, whether the Greeks were in amity? It indeed becomes you, Sir, replied Demaratus, to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and dissensions. The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander, to persuade him to return home.

(k) Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priestess replied, The victim is already crowned, his and draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed. Philip, hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order therefore that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn facrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate with incre-

⁽k) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 338.

dible magnificence in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most confiderable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by fending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely, for that festival, a tragedy * entitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and mafter of Asia. Philip listened to these happy prefages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shews were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worthip, there were carried in it with great and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a confiderable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of furveying him; and also to shew that he confidered the affections which the Grecians bore him, as his fafest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his resusal to

mime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered. do an a time be tainme Paufani ter had and wa Philip, patra, after h never I confole esteem in him life-gua donian against his sha

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^{*} Suctonius, among the prefaces of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Mnester the Panto-

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do an act of justice, that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had infulted, in the most shocking manner, Paufanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to difgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Paufanias's complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he forms the defign of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder. IIVOID

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody defign in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more confpicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long sollicited that prince in vain for the fatisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. rus observes, that he was affassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The affassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the purfuers time to overtake him. Paufanias was immediately tore to pieces upon the spot. (1) Thus died Philip at forty-seven years of age, after

⁽¹⁾ A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king

of Persia, died also the same year.

(m) Demosthenes had private notice fent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to refume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and faid, That the night before he had a dream, which promifed some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these fentiments; for he himself appeared in public, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dreffed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but feven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer facrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Paulanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion Demosthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can scarce conceive, how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as resected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which shewed, that honour and

probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECT. VIII. Memorable actions and sayings of Philip.
Good and bad qualities of that prince.

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most shining actions; because in the latter they generally study their conduct, lact a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise.

(m) Æschin. contra Ctefiph. p. 440.

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(n) An (o) Senec * Si q gens inftr Mr. de Tourreil has collected with fufficient industry most of the memorable actions and fayings of Philip. and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of these detached actions and favings.

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Though Philip loved flattery, fo far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Thessaly, he however at some intervals loved truth. He permitted (n) Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, Philip, remember thou art mortal.

(o) He * discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms; and alfo, which is no lefs worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality (fays Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service "thou couldft do us, faid Demochares, would be to " hang thy felf." Philip, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words. however made the following answer with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go, tell your superiors, that " those who dare make use of such insolent language, are more haughty and less peaceably inclined than " they who can forgive them."

(b) Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of fome captives, one of them going up to him, whifpered in his ear, Let down the lappet of your robe; upon

which

⁽n) Arist. Epist. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. 8. c. 15. (o) Senec. de Ira, l. 3. c. 23.

^{*} Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit & contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni,

which Philip replied, Set the man at liberty; I did not

know till now that he was one of my friends.

(p) The whole court folliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publickly in the Olympic games; What won't they attempt (replied Philip) should I do them any injury, fince they laugh at me, after having received so many

favours at my hands?

(q) His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spake ill of him: Yes, indeed, (fays he) and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where. Another time, that they advised him to difmis a man of probity, who had reproached him: Let us first take care (fays he) that we have not given him any reason to do so. Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, that occasioned another fine faying of this prince's: It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated.

(r) Being urged to affift, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a person, whose reputation would be quite loft, by the fentence which was going to be pronounced against him; I had rather (fays he)

he should lose his reputation, than I mine.

(s) Philip, rifing from an entertainment at which he had fat several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear feveral reasons she had to alledge which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave fentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, I appeal. How! (fays Philip) from your king? To whom then? To Philip when fasting (replied the woman.) The manner in which he received this answer, would do honour to the most sober prince. He afterwards gave the cause a second hearing; found

(p) Plut. (q) Plut. in Apophth. (r) Plut. (s) Ibid. dolder

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(t) Ibid. lib. 12. cap. * Kai p the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself

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(t) A poor woman used to appear often before him. to fue for audience, and to befeech him to put an end to her law-fuit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion; If you have not time to do me justice, be no longer king. Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and so far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was fenfible, that a king and a judge are the same thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the fovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint persons to affift him in this function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wife expression; * Be no longer king; and Philip comprehended all its force.

(u) He understood raillery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request: Take what thou wilt, says he, for thou hast me by the throat.

(x) It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished

the one, and fentenced the other to follow him.

(y) Menecrates the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting. Philip an(t) Ibid. (u) Ibid. (x) Ibid. (y) Ælian.

lib. 12. cap. 51.

^{*} Kai pin Bariasus.

fwered; Philip to Menecrates, health and reason*. But this king did not stop here; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table at it, where nothing was served up to him but incense and persume, whilst all the other guests sed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

(2) Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep; I indeed sleep, says he, but Antipater wakes.

(a) Parmenio, hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: Don't wonder, says he, if he sleeps whilst you wake; for he waked whilst you sleept. By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness, in neglecting their interests, whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

(b) Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, In my whole life I could never find but one general, (Parmenio) whereas the Athenians can find ten every year at the very instant they want them.

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he him-

(2) Plutarch. (a) Ibid. (b) Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177.

The Greek word vysairs signifies both those things.

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felf had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that Mr. de Tourreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

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It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conspicuous as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies; he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He uses his endeavours with success to divide his opponents: to strike the surer, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; as ready to pursue or wait for it, he either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom; in fine, he is ever immoveable, ever fixed in the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own subjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendant, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is sold at the dearest price; making satigue and danger his dearest delights; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reslexion and action which military expeditions require; and with all these advantages, turning the sury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary, or undisciplined troops; obstinately deaf to good advice, and searched dearwined on their win.

and feemingly determined on their ruin.

Vol VI. F He

He united in himself two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, viz. a steadiness and calmness of foul, that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments; this calmness, I say, was united with a restless activity, ardor and vivacity, which were regardless of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demosthenes, who cannot be sufpected to have flattered him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head; for which reason I will cite his own words. (c) I faw, fays this orator, this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and empire; I faw him, though covered with wounds, his eye fruck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet; still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part of his body she might desire, provided he might live honourably and gloriously with the rest of it.

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact regular discipline; and trained up men capable of seconding him in his great enterprizes. He had the art, without lessening his own authority, to samiliarize himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever consistent with discipline: and indeed, from his assability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit

obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity

(c) Demosth. pro Ctef. p. 483.

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of precautions, and the art of resources. A wife diffidence, which is of fervice, as it shews danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irrefolute, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever just in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his defigns; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians afleep, by a specious outside of peace; and to lay silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous fecurity and blind indolence.

But these exalted qualities were not without imper-Not to mention his excess in eating and caroufing, to which he abandoned himfelf with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented A fet of profligate debauchees, buffoons. pantomimes, and wretches worfe than thefe, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crouds round the great and powerful; fuch were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties; for this might be suspected in an enemy; but (d) Theopompus, a famous hiftorian, who had writ the history of that prince in fiftyeight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character " Philip, fays (e) he, despised modesty and

⁽d) Diod. Sicul. 1. 16. p. 408. (e. Theopom. apud. Athen. 1, 6. p. 206.

regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and libe-" rality on men abandoned to debauch and the last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the " companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abo-" minable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the se science of debauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what fort of crimes did they not com-" mit, &c?"

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reslects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politics. He is confidered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived : And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raife himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on every fide with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, fuch a project as this? However, he did not once lose fight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and filver, merely to engage creatures in his fervice. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the affiftance of penfioners, on whom he had fettled very large slipends, he was informed very exactly of all the refolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wifest and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we fee him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and fubrerraneous passages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

Polyænus

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(f) Polyænus shews us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the compleating of his other defigns. "He " did not (fays he) carry on an open war against the "Thesfalians; but took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country into " different factions. He succoured those who sued for " his affiftance; and whenever he had conquered, he 66 did not entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not "difarm them, nor raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to "weaken and subject the strongest; in a word, he 66 rather fomented than appealed their divisions, ha-" ving in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those firebrands of commonwealths. "And it was by these stratagems, not by his arms,

" that Philip subdued Thessaly."

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(g) All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point of politics. But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falshood, perfidy and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, infinuating, fubtle genius; but we don't find him poffes'd of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his fense just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm refolution to break it; and made promises which he would have been very forry to keep. He thought himfelf skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory confift in deceiving all with whom he treated. (b) He did not blush to say, That children were amused with play-things, and men with oaths.

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other

⁽f) Polyæn. 1. 4. c. 19. (g) Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22. b) Ælian. 1. 7. c. 12.

person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity! What idea should we form to our felves in the commerce of the world, who should value himself for tricking others, and rank infincerity and fraud among the virtues? Such a character in private life, is detefted as the bane and ruin of fociety. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to revere fincerity, justice, and above all, the fanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promife among private persons ought to be facred and inviolable, if they have the least fense of honour; but how much more ought it to be fo among princes? "We are bound (fays a celebrated " writer *) to speak truth to our neighbour; for the " use and application of speech implies a tacit promise of truth; speech having been given us for no other or purpose. It is not a compact between one pri-" vate man with another; it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now whoever tells an untruth, violates this law and common " compact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the fanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? (i) Were fincerity and truth banished from every other part of the earth, faid John I, king of France, upon his being follicited to violate a treaty, they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings.

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation succeed. But tho

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^{*} M. Nicole on the epist. of the 19th Sunday after Whitsuntide.

this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expense of probity, honour and religion? (k) If your father-in-law (Ferdinand the catholic) said Lewis XII to Philip archduke of Austria, has acted persidiously, I am determined not to imitate him; and I am much more pleased in having lost a kingdom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than I should have been had I lost my honour, which can never be recovered.

But those politicians who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfeelly successful in the administration of public affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit? An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and fo many more; fome of whom were fo very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falshood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus, the most famous conqueror of the east, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no fuccess, how shining soever, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

(k) Mezerai.

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THE FIFTEENTH. BOOK

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER.

HAVE already observed, that the history of Alexander, comprised in the following book, contains the space of twelve years and eight months.

SECT. I. Alexander's birth. The temple of Ephefus is burnt the same day. The happy natural inclinations of that prince. Aristotle is appointed his preceptor, who inspires him with a surprizing taste for learning. He breaks Bucephalus.

(a) A Lexander came into the world the first year of the CVIth Olympiad.

The very day he came into the world the celebrated temple of Diana in Ephefus was burnt. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the feven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Asia minor. A great num-

(a) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plin. l. 36. c. 14.

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(b) Ph * Plin twenty y bable.

† An governed ! H He lived in Lagus.

I I de tarch's re ber of * years were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was supported by an hundred and twenty-seven columns, threescore feet high, which so many + kings had caused to be wrought at a great expence, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occasion. The rest of the temple was equal to the columns in

magnificence.

(b) Hegefias || of Magnefia, according to Plutarch, fays, That it was no wonder the temple was burnt, because Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander. A reflection, says our author, so very ‡ cold, that it might have extinguished the fire. ‡ Cicero, who ascribes this saying to Timæus, declares it a very smart one, at which I am very much surprized. Possibly the sondness he had for jokes, made him not over delicate in things of this kind.

(c) One Herostratus had fired that temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to some nim to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he confessed that it was the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The statesgeneral of Asia imagined they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree, to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curiosity; for scarce one of the

(b) Plut. in Alex. p. 665.

* Pliny fays two bundred and twenty years, which is not pro-

† Antiently, most cities were governed by their particular king.

He was an historian, and lived in the time of Ptolomy, son of Lagus.

‡ I don't know whether Plutarch's reflection be not still colder.

(c) Valer. Max. 1. 8. c. 14.

4 Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cum in historia dixisset, qua nocte natus Alexander esset, gadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deslagravisse, adjunxit: minime id esse mirandum, quòd Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, absuisset domo. De Nat. Deor. 1. 2. n. 69. historians of that age has omitted to mention so monfrous an extravagance, and at the same time have told

us the name of the criminal.

(d) The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his stile; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariotrace. But it was not to this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above-mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion, for he was very swift of soot? He answered, That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists.

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, A-lexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young perfons that were brought up with him; Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing

for us to do.

One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which most suprized them was, the good sense and judgment he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trisling and like one of his age; such, for instance, as enquiring about the so much boasted gardens suspended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the samous golden plantane-tree; (a) and that golden vine, the grapes of

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⁽d) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668. Id. de fortun. Alex. p. 342.

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which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all forts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was faid frequently to give audience: Alexander, I fay, asked them questions of a quite different nature; enquiring which was the road to Upper Afia; the distance of the several places; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies, and in what manner he governed his fubjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they observed, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and (f) Artaxerxes, by faying one to another; * This young prince is great, and ours is rich. That man must be vaftly infignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happiness of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed, to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himself tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journies together, u'ed frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and cloaths were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most samous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he entrusted with the whole care of his education. (g) One of the reasons which prompted Philip to chuse him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was,

⁽f) Artaxerxes Ochus.

⁽g) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

^{* &#}x27;Ο παῖς ἔτΦ, βασιλεύς μέγας ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερΦ, πλέσιΦ.

as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had

been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of * Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants who had sled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious visto's, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, + That be was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well. The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. | He grew vaftly fond of philosophy; and learnt the feveral parts of it, but in a manner suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down fure and certain rules, by which he might diffinguish just and folid reasoning from what is but speciously so; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all fuch parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly folid, and should constitute its whole value. He also exercised him in metaphysics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himself to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter;

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in what manner he perceives spiritual things; how he is fensible of the impression of those that surround him, and many other questions of the like import. The reader will naturally suppose, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which give the mind fo just a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the study of which, besides a great many other advantages, shews how very incapable the mind of man is to discover the secret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye-witness. But Alexander applied himfelf chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his ferious and profound study; and considered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wife policy. much must such an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince with regard to his own interests and the government of his people!

(i) The greatest master of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boaft, and who has left fo excellent a treatife on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle, to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work entitled, Alexander's rhetoric; in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him, the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greatest ascendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, shew that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with fense and ideas; and which is fo entirely free from fuperfluous expressions, that every fingle word has its meaning; which properly speaking is the eloquence of kings.

His esteem, or rather his passion for * Homer,

⁽i) Aristot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

^{*} Imperatoria brevitate. Tacit,

shews, not only with what vigour and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poesy; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow such sentiments from him, as are worthy a great king, and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And indeed, the verse which pleased him most in Homer *, was that where Agamemnon is represented as a good king, and a brave warrior.

After this, it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the spoils of Darius a gold box (enriched with precious stones) in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with duft, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the most perfect, the most precious + production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, | The best provision for a war-He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the edition of the box was given; and he laid it, with his fword, every night under his pillow.

(1) Fond, even to excess, of every kind of glory,

(1) Aul. Gell. 1. 20. c. 5.

* 'Αμφότερον, Βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθός, πρατερός τ' ἀιχμητής.

† Pretiofissimum humani animi opus. Plin. l. 7. c. 29.

This πολεμικής αρετής εφό-Jor. This word, which I have not been able to render better, figIliad. 3. v. 172. nifies, that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general; in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.

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အနောင် အ စီယာထိုမ he was displeased with Aristotle his master for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he himself defired to possess only; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander fays in it, that * he had much rather furpass the rest of men in the " knowledge of fublime and excellent things, than the greatness and extent of his power." He in like manner requested (m) Aristotle, not to shew the treatise of rhetoric above-mentioned to any person but himself. I will confess, that there is an excess in this strong defire of glory, which prompts him to suppress the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but then we at least must confess, that it discovers such a passion for study as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverse of that indifference, not to fay contempt and aversion, which most young persons of high birth express for all things that relate to learning and study.

Plutarch tells us in few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taste, with which his master (than whom no man possessed greater talents for the education of youth) had inspired him from his most tender infancy. He loved, said that author, to converse with learned men, to improve himself in knowledge, and to study +; three sources of a monarch's happiness, and which enable him to secure himself from numberless difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the assistance of others. The conversation of persons of fine sense, instructs a prince by way of amusement, and teaches him a thousand curious and useful things without costing him the least trouble. The lessons which able

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⁽m) Arift. p. 609.

^{*} Έγω δε βελοίμην ων ταϊς † Ην ΦιλόλογΦ, η Φιλοπερί τα άριτα έμπειρίαις, η ταϊς μαθής, η Φιλαναγνώτης. δινάμεσι, διαφέρειν.

masters give him, on the most exalted sciences, and particularly upon politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furnish him with rules to govern his subjects with wisdom. In fine, study, especially that of history, crowns all the rest, and is to him a preceptor for all feafons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troublesome, acquaints him with truths which no one else would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himself; teaches him to know himself as well-as mankind, who are the fame in all ages. Alexander owed all these advantages to the excellent education Aristotle gave him.

(n) He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts, but in fuch a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign, because they * found in him both a skilful judge, and a generous protector, who was able to diffinguish and

reward merit.

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(o) But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no use. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himself very attentively in throwing small peafe through the eye of a + needle, which he would do at a confiderable distance, and without once miffing. Alexander feeing him at this exercise, ordered him, as we are told, a present fuitable to his employment, viz. a basket of pease.

Alexander was of a sprightly disposition; was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is very difficult to treat with persons of this turn of mind. Philip accordingly notwithstanding his double authority of

+ We may suppose it was some

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⁽n) Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Serm. 2. p. 333. (o) Quintil. l. 2. c. 21.

^{*} Μάρτυρα έλαξον εξ θεατήν, Tor apisa upivas to natop9's- instrument in the shape of a needle. μενον, ο μάλιτα άμεί γαος ουναμιενον.

king and father, believed it necessary to employ perfuasion rather than force with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than seared

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An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been fent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, strong, fiery, generous beaft, called * Bucephalus. The owner would fell him for thirteen talents, about 1900 %. sterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horse; but upon trial he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in fo furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been fent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, What a noble horse they are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him! Philip, at first, considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men: but as Alexander infifted still more upon what he had faid, and was very much vexed to fee fo noble a creature just going to be fent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the fun; having observed, that the thing which frighted him was his own shadow, he feeing it dance about, or fink down, in proportion as he moved. He therefore first stroked him gently with his hand, and foothed him with his voice; then feeing his metal abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and fpringing swiftly upon his back, first slackens the rein, without once striking or vexing him: and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer fo furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the reign, and spurring him with great vigour, animated

^{*} Some think be was called so, because his bead was like that of an ox.

him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvye one another in their applauses and congratulations; and we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kissing his head, he said to him, My son, seek a kingdom more worthy of

thee, for Macedon is below thy merit.

We are told a great many furprizing particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind, (p) When this creature was faddled and equipped for battle, he would fuffer no one to back him but his mafter; and it would not have been fafe for any other person to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet, According to some historians, in the battle against Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidst a body of the enemy, his horse, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himfelf in fo vigorous a manner, that he faved his mafter's life; and notwithstanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almost spent through the great effusion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpressible vigour to a place of fecurity; where perceiving * the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in some measure at the service he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horse. Others fay, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had loft in him a most faithful and af-

(p) Aul. Gell. 1. 5, c. 2.

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(q) A. Diod. 1. 1

Et domini jam superstitis securus, quasi cum sensus humani solatio, animam expiravit. Aul. Gell.

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fectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very spot where he was buried, near the river Hydaspes, and called it Bucephalia in honour of him.

I have related elsewhere, that Alexander, at fixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and invested with absolute authority during his father's abfence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that he afterwards distinguished himself in a most fignal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

SECT. II. Alexander, after the death of Philip, ascends the throne at twenty years of age. He subjects and reduces the nations contiguous to Macedon who had revolted. He goes into Greece to dissolve the alliance formed against him. He possesses himself of, and destroys, Thebes, and pardons the Athenians. He gets himself nominated in the diet or assembly at Corinth, generalissimo of the Greeks against Persia. He returns to Macedon, and makes preparations for carrying bis arms into Afia.

(9) DARIUS and Alexander began to reign the fame year: the latter was but twenty when he fucceeded to the crown. His first care was to folemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost

pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself furrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations, against whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made feveral conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the feveral cities and commonwealths to continue

⁽⁹⁾ A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 386. Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. 17. p. 486-489. Arrian. l. 1. de expedit. Alex. p. 2-23. their

their antient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Though he were absent, he nevertheless ruled in all assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and disorder, the minds of the vanquished not

being yet calmed nor moulded to subjection. The Macedonians, reflecting on this precarious fituation of things, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and not perfift in his resolution of subduing it by force; * to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to footh, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent referve, complacency and infinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity; firmly perfuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible hafte to check the arms of the Barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; fubdued feveral barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant + answer of their

Θεραπέυειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν
 νεωτερισμῶν.

dors what things they dreaded most? They replied with a haughty tone of woice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the sky and stars.

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(r) Ant. I.

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[†] Alexander, imagining that his name only had struck these people with terror, asked their ambassa-

ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger still more near them than the falling of the fky and

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Whilft Alexander was thus employed at a diffance against the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against that prince. A false report, which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. (r) Demosthenes, on the other fide, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a child, and a * hairbrained boy, he affured the Athenians, with a decifive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to ftir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vaftly happy, could he fit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's fecond wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes's proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the fuspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander faw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had fent into Afia for that purpose, to have him affassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death reflored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the feeds of discord and rebellion.

(s) When Alexander had fecured his kingdom from

⁽r) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 453. (s) A. M. 367c. Ant. J. C. 334.

^{*} It is wapying in Greek, a word which signifies many things in that language. the

the Barbarians, he marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed the Thermopylæ. He then spoke as follows to those who accompanied him: Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Theffaly; and I must now shew him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown. He appeared so suddenly in Boeotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phoenix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published, by sound of trumpet, a general pardon, to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of infult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were follicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with him in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength; for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers: but after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city was taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards enquired whether she had not

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concealed gold and filver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent defire of revenge, replying that she had hid some, took him with herself only into her garden, and shewing him a well, told him, that the instant the faw the enemy enter the city, the herfelf had thrown into it the most valuable things in her posses-The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her ftrength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great stones which she threw upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mein that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed those brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, I am fifter to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded. The prince admiring the generous answer of that lady, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever the pleafed with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platææ, Thespiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who also had destroyed their several cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always discovered, in savour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the

revolt

revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had indeed too rashly broke into rebellion, not against the king, but against his fuccessors. That what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost feverity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city. That there now remained in it none but women, children and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were fo much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to fo many gods and heroes, feveral of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the seat of his father Philip's rifing glory, and like a fecond native country to him.

These motives which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he fet at liberty the priests; all fuch as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much honour to Greece; and fuch as had opposed the revolt: but all the rest, in number about thirty thoufand, he fold, and upward of fix thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were fo fenfibly afflicted at the fad difaster which had befallen Thebes. that being about to folemnize the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them upon account of their xtreme grief, and received with the greatest humanity all those who had fled from the battle and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their afylum.

Alexander's fo sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw

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them into the utmost consternation. They therefore had recourse to entreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demosthenes was among them; but he was no sooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than, dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had deseated at Chæronea. It was on this occasion Demosthenes related to the people the sable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed, That the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard. The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the slock.

In this prodigious dilemma the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, tho they had no other way to fave their city; Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and interceded for them. The king, whether he had fatiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather, to remove the feveral obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators; and was pacified by their fending Caridemus into banishment, who being a native of * Oræa, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the fervices he had done the republic. He was fon-in-law to Cherfobleptus, king of Thrace; had learnt the art of war under Inhicra-

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^{*} A city of Eubæa.

tes, and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander,

he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of feverity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned, at Corinth, the * affembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians, as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east, and the methods for executing a revenge suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time will give rise to events, the relation of which will appear association and almost incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the disposition of most things in the world.

To form such a design, required a prince bold, enterprizing, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obstacles; but above all, a monarch, who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly was powerful enough to make

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^{*} Plutarch places that diet or assembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux supposed that it was summoned twice.

fo arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief. who might give motion to the feveral parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the fame end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their antient hatred of the Perfians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once fwore, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose; a hatred, which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have sufpended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians; the terror, which Agesilaus, with a handful of men, had ftruck even as far as Sufa; shewed plainly what might be expected from an army, composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece. and those of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to fay all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the affembly were therefore very short, and that prince was unanimously appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself, that Diogenes of Sinope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons have performed actions worthy of their high stations. Diogenes therefore did not stir out of his house; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun; but seeing so great a crowd of peo-

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ple advancing towards him, he fat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, furprized to fee fo famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after faluting him in the kindest manner, asked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, Yes, that you would stand a little out of my sun-shine. This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, Aruck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, Were I not Alexander, says he, I would be Diogenes. A very profound fense lies hid in this expression, that shews perfectly the bent and disposition of the heart of man. Alexander is sensible that he is formed to possess all things; such is his c'estiny, in which he makes his happiness consist: but then in case he should not be able to compass his ends, he also is sensible, that to be happy, he must endeayour to bring his mind to fuch a frame, as to want nothing. In a word, all or nothing presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful foever that prince might think himfelf, he could not deny himself on this occasion inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.

Alexander, before he fet out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on those days which are called unlucky, a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess resused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out; † My son, thou art irressibile. This was all he desired; and catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoke by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make

preparations for his great expedition.

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I could have wished, and it was even my design, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map, as I did for those of Cyrus the younger; this being of great affistance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conquests. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conquests being too large to be conveniently inserted in a Duodecimo. But to supply, in some measure, this desect, I shall here give, in one view, a short account of those countries through which Alexander passed, till his return from India.

Alexander sets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and crosses the Hellespont, or the streights of the Dardanelles.

He crosses Asia minor (Natolia) where he fights two battles; the first at the pass of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus.

After this second battle, he enters Syria and Palestine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Libya to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He crosses that river, then the Tigris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; possesses himself of * Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he passes into Hyrcania, to the sca which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxarthes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther fide of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary.

^{*} The capital of Babylonia.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crosses the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass, had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contents himself with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almost to which river Alexander marched, is computed at least eleven

hundred leagues.

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Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches; first, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issue was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at least, and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places; we shall find that Alexander, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues without including his return to Babylon.

SECT. III. Alexander sets out from Macedon upon his expedition against the Persians. He arrives at Ilion, and pays great honour to the tomb of Achilles. He sights the first battle against the Persians at the river Granicus, and obtains a famous victory.

A Lexander being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprize which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a confort, in order

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⁽r) A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Diod. l. 17. p. 499-503. Arrian. l. 1, p. 23-36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Justin. l. 11. c. 5, 6.

to fecure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid facrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * Scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This sestival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddess. He had a tent raised large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which consequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals and officers, were invited. (u) He also treated his whole army. It was then he had the samous vision, in which he was exhorted to march speedily into Asia, of which mention will be made in the sequel.

Before he fet out upon this expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and near the same number of horse.

He also enquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demestic were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdiccas said to him, My lord, what is it you reserve for your self? Alexander replying, hope: says Perdiccas, The same hope ought therefore to satisfy us; and so resulted very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

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⁽u) Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 11.

^{*} Theatrical representations were so called,

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was fenfible, that this fecret confifts in making it the interest of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his subjects in such a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the interest of every person unites with that of the prince. They are one's own possessions, one's own happiness which we love in his person; and we are so many times attached to him (and by as close ties) as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the fequel of this history will shew, that no person ever made a more happy use of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himself raised to the throne merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither fatisfied nor exhausted by the noblest acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having compleatly fettled affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from arifing in it during his abfence, fet out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army confifted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all brave men; were well disciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made feveral campaigns under Philip; and were each of them *, in case of necessity, capable of commanding. Most of the officers were near threescore years of age; and when they were either affembled t, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas his fon had eighteen hundred horse | under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the fame number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives

† Ut, fi principia castrorum

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magistros militiæ electos putares. Juftin. 1. 11. c. 6.

^{*} Ut non tam milites, quam cerneres, senatum te alicujus priscae re p. videre diceres. Id. These were all Macedonians.

of the several states of Greece, and amounted to fix hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; croffed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sessos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot, which he accordingly did by the affistance of an hundred and threefcore gallies and feveral flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaians, himself steering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Hellespont, he facrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids; and made effusions in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia; and leaping from the ship, completely armed, and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with fo propitious a defcent. He had done the fame at his leaving Europe.

He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but seventy * talents in money to pay his army, and only a month's provision. I before observed, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; and a circumstance of great importance is, that he had inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied they marched, not to

precarious war, but certain victory.

(x) Being arrived at the city of Lampsacus, which he was determined to destroy, in order to punish the

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⁽x) Val. Max. 1. 7. c. 3.

^{*} Seventy thousand crowns.

rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philiphis father; and Alexander himself had a great esteemfor him, having been his pupil. The king suspecting the business he was come upon, to be beforehand with him swore in express terms, that he would never grant his request. The favour I have to desire of you, says Anaximenes, is, that you would destroy Lampsacus. By this witty evasion the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and caufed games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his life-time, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatness of his exploits. And indeed *, had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have perished in the same grave with

his body.

At last Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The Satrapæ or deputy-lieutenants waited his coming on the other side of it, sirmly resolved to dispute the passage with him. Their army consisted of † one hundred thousand soot, and upwards of ten thousand horse. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal

^{*} Cùm in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum conflitiffet: O fortunate,
inquit, adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!
Et verè. Nam, nifi Ilias illa extitiffet, idem tumulus, qui corpus
ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruisset. Cic. pro Arch. n. 24.

[†] According to Justin, their army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thousand. Both these accounts are improbable, and there is doubtless some fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.

agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine, what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his fovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we confider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine, or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arfites, a Phrygian fatrapa, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make fuch havock in the territories he governed. This ill counsel prevailed over that of the foreigner (Memnon) whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means make himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: The baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves; and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt croffing a river in fight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; fo that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array, on the other fide, might eafily defeat them before they were drawn up. That, besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprize, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous confequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it

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would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt: That they ought to take advantage of the terror, which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread amongst the Persians; and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass: and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's service, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in fight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter feemed to be making choice of a place proper for croffing, and to furvey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this. Alexander having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river. himself following it with the rest of the forces. made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets founding, and the whole army raifing cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let sly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great sury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the

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eminence: not to mention that the flower of the Perfian horse were drawn together in this place; and that Mémnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks which made a vigorous desence. Alexander, who had followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, heads them himself, animates them by his presence, pushes the Persians, and routs them: upon which the whole army follow after, cross the river, and attack

the enemy on all fides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two fides of which there rose two wings, as it were, of a great length; and fo vaftly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either fide; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and fon-inlaw to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations. of experienced valour, and who never moved from his fide, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapt spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other flightly. Spithrobates falls furiously, sword in hand, upon Alexander; who being prepared for him, thrust his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment Rofaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the fide, gives him fo furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going

going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Rosaces's hand with one stroke of his scimitar, and by that means saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now perform wonders. The Persians in the center of the horse, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to slight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These, says the historian, at first stood their ground, which was owing to the furprize they were feized with, rather than bravery. But when they faw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had croffed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous refiffance, and were foon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's fervice excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reafon, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, (not Bucephalus) who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians, who fost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in deipair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the chief Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites sted into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands upon himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought. It

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these cond amia would have been more glorious for him, had he died in the field. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse were killed in this engagement, on the side of the Barbarians; and of the Maccedonians, twenty-sive of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all which was set up in a city of Maccedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed; and near thirty soot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by such a familiarity and condescension. He also granted the rites of sepulture to the grandees of Persia, and did not even resuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent them to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having sought under the Barbarian standards against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent particularly to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils: Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedamonians excepted) gained these spoils from the Barbarians, who inhabit Asia. A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatness of soul in a conqueror, who gene-

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rally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to share in his glory. The greatest part of the gold and filver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

SECT. IV. Alexander conquers the greatest part of Asia He falls fick of a mortal distemper, occasioned by bathing in the river Cydnus. Philip the physician cures him in a few days. Alexander passes the straits of Cilicia. Darius advances at the same time. The bold and free answer of Caridemus to that prince, which costs him his life. Description of Darius's march.

(y) THE success of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy consequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the fide next the sea, surrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents. and restored its popular form, of government. He asfigned to the temple of Diana, the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of facrifices to that goddess; solemnized her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle ar-The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burnt the night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates a famous architect, who superintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians all the expences they had al-

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⁽y) A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. Died. l. 17. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. 1. p. 36—59. & l. 2. p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. 673, 674. Q. Cutt. l. 3. c. 1—3. Justin. l. 11: c. 7, 8. Strabi l. 14. P. 640. Solin. c. 40, 15100 & H. 1501 10 10011677

Alexander

ready been at; and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather insatiable of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus not being willing to consent to it, and however asraid to resuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery for an evasion. They told him, that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he lest Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those

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He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a fudden and powerful fupport, thut their gates against him: and indeed the Perfian fleet, which was very confiderable, made a shew as if it would fuccour that city; but after having made feveral fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to fail away. Memnon had shut himfelf up in this fortress, with a great number of his foldiers, who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling-ladders on all sides. The scalado was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve one another without the least intermission: and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long fiege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new scalado was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by storm. Alexander treated all the Milesians with the utmost humanity, and fold all the foreigners who were found in it. The historians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reasonably suppose that he marched out with the garrifon.

(z) Alexander feeing that the enemy's fleet was failed away, refolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some historians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires; he was refolved to deprive his foldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other refource than that of victory. He therefore retained such vessels only of his fleet, as were absolutely necessary for transporting the military en-

gines, and a small number of other gallies.

After pofferling himfelf of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay fiege to Halicarnassus. This city was of prodigious difficult access from its happy fituation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest, as well as the most valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice foldiers, with design to signalize his courage and fidelity for his fovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was feconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most confummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. After the besiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls; they had the grief to fee their works demolished in an instant, and their engines set on fire, by the frequent, vigorous fallies of the belieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were aftonished to see a new one behind it; which was fo fudden, that it feemed to rife out of the ground. The attack of these walls, which were built in a femicircular form, deftroyed a prodigious number of men; because the besieged, from the top of the towers that were raifed on the feveral fides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently feen at this

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^(*) A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

fiege, that the strongest fortifications of a city, are the valour and courage of its defenders. The fiege was held out fo long, and attended with fuch furprizing difficulties, as would have discouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the fea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions; he took with him the surviving inhabitants with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to befrege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it, after having incompassed it with strong walls, and left fome good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her stead. The scepter devolved upon Ada fifter and wife of Idrieus, according to the custom of the country; but the was dethroned by Pexodorus, to whom fucceeded, by Darius's command, Orontabates his fon-in-law. Ada however was still possessed of a fortress called Alinda, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her fon. The king was fo far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet poffeffion of her own city; and, after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master of the whole country, he restored the government of it to

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constitution of betachistical (a) This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, fent him every day meats dreffed in the most exquisite manner; delicious pies of all forts, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this

⁽a) Plut. in Alex. p. 677.

occasion, "That all this train was of no service to 66 him, for that he was possessed of much better " cooks whom * Leonidas his governor had given " him, one of whom prepared him a good dinner, " and that was by walking a great deal in the morning very early; and the other prepared him an excellent fupper, and that was dining very mode-"rately," can horbiged a of keep of grave reserved

Several kings of Asia minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates king of Pontus was one of thefe, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was fon to Ariobarzanes governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. (b) He is computed to be the fixteenth king from Artabazus, who is confidered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hystaspes his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his fucceffors. brooker related in has feed.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all fuch of his foldiers as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to fpend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the fpring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again. This agrees exactly with the law of (c) Moses; and, as we do not find that this law or custom was used by any other nation, it is very probable that Aristotle had learnt it from some Jew with whom he became acquainted in Asia; and that approving it as a very wife and just custom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occasion.

The next year Alexander began the campaign very

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⁽b) Florus, 1. 3. c. 5.

⁽c) Deut. xxiv. 5.

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early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly against Darius, or should first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the fafest, fince he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him, (d) This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the fea shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the searises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was defirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waift. Some historians, purely to embellish this incident, relate that the sea, by the Divine command, had submitted spontaneously to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; among these writers is Quintius Curtius. It is furprifing that Josephus the historian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews paffing through the Red-sea as on dry land, should have cited this circumstance by way of example, the falfity of which Alexander himself had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, That when he left the city of Phaselis, he marched on foot through the pass of the mountain called Climax: and it is very well known that this prince, who was vaftly fond of the marvellous, never let flip any opportunity of persuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very fingular manner. The street block of which say suit

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered a conspiracy which was carrying on by Alexander son of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Thessalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this

⁽d) Strab. 1. 14. p. 666.

traitor had fent him, promised him a reward of a thousand * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in case he could murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of fo formidable an enemy. The messenger who carried the king's answer being seized, made a full confession, by which means the traitor was brought

to condign punishment. advisors a break by I move

Alexander, after having fettled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marfyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to furrender; but thefe believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, that they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they defired a truce of fixty days, at the expiration of which they promifed to open their gates, in case they were not succoured: And accordingly no aid arriving, they furrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the antient and famous refidence of king Midas, fituated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was defirous of feeing the famous charjot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with fo much art, and the ftrings were twifted in fo wonderful a manner, that it was impoffible to discover where it began or ended. According to an antient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, should posfels the empire of Afia. Now Alexander was firmly perfuaded that this promife related to himfelf after many fruitless trials, he cried, (e) It is no matter which way it be untied, and thereupon cut it with his room of Calas, whom he had made severnor of a b

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⁽e) Sortem graculi vel elufit, vel impleyit. Quint. Curt.

^{*} About one million five bundred thousand pounds fierling I traitor

fword, and by that means, fays the historian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was setting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous desence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counsel seemed the most proper, to extricate him from present danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and several other Greek nations who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander must have been forced to leave Asia, and return suddenly over-sea, to desend his own country. Darius approved this counsel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly, he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the

forces defigned for that expedition.

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That prince could not possibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ablest general in his service, had fought a great many years under the Persian standards with the utmost fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his master's interests after that misfortune, but had affembled the scattered remains of the army, and immediately went first to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly into the island of Cos, where he was when he received his new commission. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his defign in execution. He made himself master of the island of Chios, and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the feat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to beliege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could possibly have happened to Persia. We see on this occasion the inestimable worth of a man of merit, whose death is sometimes the ruin of a state. loss of Memnon frustrated the execution of the plan he detting

he had formed; for Darius, not having one general in his army who was able to supply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprize which could have faved his empire. His whole refuge therefore now lay in the armies of the East. Darius, distaissfied with all his generals, resolved to command in person, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army, whereupon being mustered they were sound to amount to four, five, or six hundred thousand men; for histo-

rians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he fubdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of upper Afia. Accordingly he advanced by hafty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow fireight, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarfus. The officer, who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few foldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the fituation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confessed, that he might have been very eafily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones: for, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men compleatly armed could fearcely walk a-breaft in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only strait, but broke in feveral places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains, sit one charter, small in serious being

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarfus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were

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^{*} Quintus Curtius supposes it to rus, which opinion appears the most be so called from Cyrus the Great, probable.

fetting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the Barbarians having sled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not fo remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tusted trees with which its banks are over-shadowed. It was now about the end of fummer, which is exceffively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with fweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river; invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this fad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words: " The greatest prince that ever lived is torn from us in the midst of his " prosperities and conquests; not in a battle, or at the " forming of a city; but dies by his bathing in a " river. Darius, who is coming up with us, will " conquer before he has feen his enemy. We shall " be forced to retire, like fo many fugitives, through " those very countries which we entered with tri-" umph; and as the places through which we must " pass are either desart or depopulated, hunger only, " should we meet no other enemy, will itself destroy " us. But who shall guide us in our flight, or dare to " fet himfelf up in Alexander's flead? And should we " be so happy as to arrive at the Hellespont, how shall " we furnish our selves with vessels to cross it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and Vor. VI. forget-

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forgetting themselves, they cried aloud: "Alas! how fad is it that he, who was our king, and the companion of our toils; a king in the flower of his youth, and in the course of his greatest prosperities, should be taken off, and in manner torn out

of their arms!"

At last the king recovered his senses by degrees, and began to know the persons who stood round him; though the only symptoms he gave of his recovery was, his being sensible of his illness. But he was more indisposed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might soon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard sate, in being thus exposed naked and desenceless to his enemy, and robbed of so noble a victory, since he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obscurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promised himself. Having ordered his considents and physicians to come into his tent, ''You see (said he) my friends, 'the sad extremity to which fortune reduces me.

"Methinks I already hear the found of the enemy's arms, and fee Dafius advancing. He undoubtedly held intelligence with my evil * genius, when he

wrote letters to his lieutenants in fo lofty and con-

" temptuous a strain: however, he shall not obtain his desire, provided such a cure as I want is at-

tempted. The present condition of my affairs will not admit either of flow remedies or fearful physi-

cians. A speedy death is more eligible to me than

a flow cure. In case the physicians think it is in

"their power to do me any good, they are to know, that I do not fo much wish to live as to fight."

This sudden impatience of the king spread an universal alarm. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to

after cloathing him in purple out of derifion, should send him bound hand and foot to the court. Freinshem, in Quint, Curt.

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^{*} Darius, who imagined himself fure of overcoming Alexander, had writ to his lieutenants, that they should chassise this young fool; and

hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; especially as Darius had published, that he would reward with a thousand * talents the man who should kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his fovereign, but his child; raifing himfelf (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential confiderations, offered to give him a dofe; which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and defired three days to prepare it. At this propofal every one trembled, but him only whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilst these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his fifter in marriage. This + letter gave him great uneafiness, for he was now at full leifure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a physician, whose fincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, foon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. this, he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolfter, without acquainting any one with the contents

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolfter, gives it Philip to read. At the fame time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the phyfician, swallows the draught without the least hesitation, or without discovering the least suspicion or un-

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^{*} About 1450001. Sterling. + Ingentem annua duicquid in Hone literae incufferant; & quicquid in Hone † Ingentem animo folicitudinem

utramque partem aut metus aut spes subjecerat, secreta æstimatione pensabat. 2. Curt.

easiness. Philip, as he perused the letter, had shewed greater signs of indignation than of sear or surprize; and throwing himself upon the king's bed: Royal Sir, says he, with a resolute tone of voice, your recovery will soon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be easy in your own mind; and suffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from servants, who indeed have shewn their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, however, is very indiscreet and unseasonable. These words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; so taking Philip by the hand, Be you yourself easy, says he to him, for I believe you are disquieted upon a double account; first for my recovery, and secondly for your own justification.

In the mean time, the physic worked so violently, that the accidents which attended it, strengthened Parmenio's accusation; for the king lost his speech, and was feized with fuch strong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulse left, or the least symptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of physic to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable subjects; discoursing one moment about his mother and his fifters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with hafty steps, to crown his past triumphs. At last the physician's art having gained the ascendant, and diffused through every vein a falutary and vivific virtue; his mind first began to resume its former vigor, and afterwards his body much fooner than had been expected. Three days after he shewed himself to the army, who were never fatisfied with gazing upon him, and could fcarce believe their eyes; fo much the greatness of the danger had furprized and dejected them. No caresses were enough for the physician; every one embracing him with the utmost tenderness, and returning him thanks as to a god who had faved the life of their fovereign.

Besides the respect which these people had naturally for their kings, words can never express how greatly

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they admired this monarch more than any other, and the strong affection they bore him. They were perfuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate affishance of the gods; and as success always attended his defigns, his rashness became glorious in him, and feemed to have fomething inexpreffibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of fuch mighty enterprizes, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a fresh merit and a brighter lustre to his actions. * Besides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the foldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; fuch as his taking delight in bodily exercises; his discovering a skill and excellency in them; his going cloathed like the common foldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors without lesfening his dignity; his sharing in toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid; qualities, which whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflexion, made him equally beloved and respected by his foldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain fecurity in the infinite number of his troops; and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him; but instead of this, he resolves to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only incumber one another: and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and runs visibly to his own destruction. Nevertheless, the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his

^{*} Quæ leviora haberi folent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo funt. Q. Curt.

every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would foon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who perfonally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bofom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of flavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: " Poffibly, Sir, you may not be pleased " with my telling you the truth; but in case I do not "do it now, it will be too late hereafter. This " mighty parade of war, this prodigious number of " men which has drained all the east, might indeed 66 be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and pur-" ple shine in every part of your army, which is so " prodigiously splendid, that those who have not seen it, could never form an idea of its magnificence. 66 But the foldiers who compose the Macedonian ar-" my, terrible to behold, and briffling in every part with arms, do not amuse themselves with such idle " fhew. Their only care is to discipline, in a regular " manner, their battalions, and to cover themselves " close with their bucklers and pikes. Their pha-" lanx is a body of infantry, which engages without " flinching; and keeps so close in their ranks, that the " foldiers and their arms form a kind of impenetrable " work. In a word, every fingle man among them, " the officers as well as foldiers, are fo well trained up, " fo attentive to the command of their leaders, that, " whether they are to affemble under their standards, " to turn to the right or left, to double their ranks, " and face about to the enemy on all fides, at the least " fignal they make every motion and evolution of the " art of war. But that you may be perfuaded, thefe " Macedonians

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" Macedonians are not invited hither *, from the " hopes of gaining gold and filver; know, that this excellent discipline has subsisted hitherto by the sole " aid and precepts of poverty. Are they hungry? " they fatisfy their appetite with any kind of food, "Are they weary? they repose themselves on the bare " ground, and in the day-time are always upon their " feet. Do you fancy that the Thessalian cavalry, " and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are armed " cap-a-pee, are to be repulsed by stones hurled from " flings, and with flicks burnt at the end? Such " troops as are like themselves, will be able to " check their career; and fuccours must be procured " from their country, to oppose their bravery and ex-" perience. Send therefore thither all the useless gold " and filver which I fee here, and purchase formida-" ble foldiers," + Darius was naturally of a mild. tractable disposition; but good fortune will corrupt the most happy disposition. Few monarchs are resolute and couragious enough to withstand their own power, to repulse the flattery of the many people who are perpetually fomenting their passions, and to esteem a man who loves them fo well, to contradict and difplease them, in telling them the genuine truth. But Darius, not having strength of mind sufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection; was at that time his guest, and gave him at that time the best counsel that could have been proposed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not filence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his usual freedom; " My avenger is at " hand, the very man in opposition to whom I gave " you counfel, and he will foon punish you for de-

^{*} Et, ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit. Q. Curt. † Erat Dario mite ac tractabi-

le ingenium, nisi etiam suam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Q. Curt. I suspect the particle suam.

" spising it. * As for you, Darius, in whom sove-

"reign power has wrought so sudden a change, you will teach posterity, that when once men abandon themselves to the delusion of fortune, she erases from their minds all the seeds of goodness implanted ed in them by nature." Darius soon repented his having put to death so valuable a person; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a custom long used by the Persians, never to set out upon a march till after sun-rise, at which time the trumpet was sounded for that purpose from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the sun set in crystal. The order they observed in their march

First, they carried silver altars, on which there lay fire, called by them sacred and eternal; and these were sollowed by the magi, singing hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-sive youths (agreeable to the number of days in a year) cloathed in purple robes. Asterwards came a chariot consecrated to † Jupiter, drawn by white horses, and sollowed by a courser of a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the sun's horse; and the equerries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and filver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called The Immortals, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the Barbarians in the sumptuousness

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^{*} Tu quidem, licentia regni fubitò mutatus documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permisere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediscere. Q. Curt.

[†] Jupiter was a god unknown to the Persians. Quintus Curtius therefore, in all probability, ealls the first and greatest of their gods by that name,

Possibly relation

of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were cloathed in robes of gold tiffue, with furtouts (having flevees to them) quite covered with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's cousins or * relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of

their dress than the glitter of their arms.

Those called the † Doryphori came after: they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he seemed to sit as on an high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its slight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was cloathed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two salcons rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waste he wore a || golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his scymitar hung, the scabbard of which stamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue, mixed with white.

On each fide of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with filver, and tipt with gold; and lastly, thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses (four hundred in number) all which

were led.

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About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syfigambis, Darius's mother,

^{*} This was a title of dignity. Possibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.

⁺ These were guards who carried a half pike. || Cidaris.

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feated on a chariot, and his confort on another, with the feveral female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem with those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and fixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by fix hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with

their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the description of a turnament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the leaft reason, would have been so stupid, as to incorporate with their forces fo cumbersome a train of women, princesses, concubines, eunuchs, and domestics of both fexes? But the custom of the country was reason sufficient. Darius, at the head of fix hundred thousand men, and furrounded with this mighty pomp prepared for himself only, fancied he was great, and rose in the idea he had formed of himself. Yet should we reduce him to his just proportion and his personal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the same judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECT. V. Alexander gains a famous victory over Darius, near the city of Issus. The consequences of that victory.

(f) POR the clearer understanding of Alexander's march and that of Darius, and the better fixing (f) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

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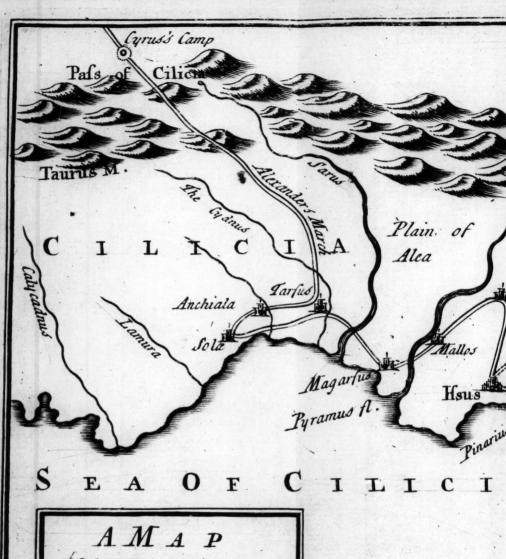
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A M A P
Of the Places Adjacent to
I S S U S
To facilitate the Understanding
of the Marches of Alexander, and
Darius, towards that City.

Rollin's an: Hist: Vol. vr. Page 155. in of ea Castabala Hsus Pinarius A A Myrandru Tochus Antioch

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the situation of the spot where the second battle was fought, we must distinguish three straits or passes.

(g) The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus, in the way to the city of Tarsus, through which, as has been already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Assyria, is much higher than the

pass of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure it for his march. As for himself, after marching from Tarsus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb was still to be feen in that city with this infcription, Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarfus in one day; Go PAS-SENGER, EAT, DRINK AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING. From hence he came to Solæ, where he offered facrifices to Æsculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony, with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there folemnized games; after which he returned to Tarfus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarfus, whence he arrived at Malles, and afterwards at Castabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Affyria, two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he fet out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and,

⁽g) Diod. l. 17. p. 512—518. Arrian. l. 2. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 4—12. Justin. l. 11. c. 9. & 10.

after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issue, marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the

badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Affyria of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his fervice, and formed the chief strength of his army, advised him to wait there the coming up of the enemy. For, belides that this fpot was open on all fides, and very advantageous for his horse; it was spacious enough to contain his vastly numerous host, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he should not approve of their counsel, they then advised him to separate this multitude, and felect fuch only as were the flower of his troops, and consequently not venture his whole army upon a fingle battle, which perhaps might be decifive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian observes, for ever abound, called these Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counselling the king to divide his troops was, that after they should be once separated from the rest, they might have an easier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the fafest way would be, to surround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illustrious example of the punishment due to traytors. This propofal was vaftly shocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane disposition. therefore answered, "That he was far from ever de-" figning to commit so horrible a crime; that should " he be guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give " the least credit to his promises; that * it was never " know that a person had been put to death for giving

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^{*} Neminem stolidum confilium capite lucre debere: defuturos enim qui suaderent, si suasisse periculum esset. Q. Curt.

"ture to give his opinion, if it were attended with fuch danger, a circumstance that would be of the most fatal consequence to princes." He then thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and condescended to lay before them the reasons which

prompted him not to follow their advice.

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The courtiers had perfuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indisposition;) that fortune, merely for their fake, had led Alexander into straits and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately; that they ought to feize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this, it was refolved in council, that the army should march in fearch of him; the gods, fays an (b) historian, blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius having fent his treasure with his most precious moveables to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of his army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his fon, followed the army according to the custom of the Persians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia (from east westward) he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been affured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great disorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now confidering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the fick who were then in the city of Issus, a few foldiers

(b) Arrian.

excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the Barbarians were so numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisadoes, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire suffilled, which was, to engage in those passes, whither the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And indeed, this spot of ground which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless Alexander, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other fide, his courage revived from the reflexion, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of fadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but refolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having

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Having made his foldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went * to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, facrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As foon as the fignal was given, his army, which was. ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts affigned them: but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them. the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peafants in the greatest terror came also and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who in that furprize ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Issue, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain, that was situated between them both, must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed, that Darius's was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulph, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the † Argyraspides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the center of the main army. On the extremity of

^{*} The antients used to offer up distinuished by their silver shields, but much more so by their great bravery.

the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy; and laftly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of fix distinct corps or brigades. Each of these bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander being always generalissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, on the right; and those of Peloponnesus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had referved to himself the command of the right. He had defired Parmenio to keep as near the fea as possible, to prevent the Barbarians from furrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at fome distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light-horse of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the * Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle-array, he commanded thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand bowmen to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the center he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inserior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. These were all

* Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.

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heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the prodigious multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their lest, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in the several windings of the mountain) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having set his army in battle-array,

Darius, after having set his army in battle-array, made his horse cross the river again, and dispatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage: the rest of his cavalry he sent to the lest, towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the center of his army, pursuant to

the custom of the Persian monarchs.

Alexander, observing that most of the enemy's horse was to oppose his left wing, which consisted only of those of Peloponnesus, and of some other allies, detached immediately to it the Thessalian cavalry, which he caused to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being seen by the Barbarians. On the same side (the left) he posted, before his soot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitalces (a king of Thrace) who were covered by the horse. The foreigners in his service were behind all the rest.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend fo far as the left of the Perfians, which might furround and attack it in flank, he drew from the center of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being feen by the enemy. He also reinforced that wing of his forces which he had opposed to the

Barbarians

Barbarians on the mountains; for, feeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and some other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the summit of it; so that he left only three hundred horse to keep them in, and sent the rest, as I observed, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means ex-

tended further than that of the Persians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very flowly, that his foldiers might take a little breath; fo that it was supposed they would not engage till very late: for Darius still continued with his army on the other fide of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous fituation of his post; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be fecured with palifadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in fight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the foldiers to fignalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. To the Macedonians he represented, " the victories they had of formerly gained in Europe; the still-recent glory of the battle of the Granicus; the great number of cities and provinces they had left behind them, all " which they had subdued." He added, that " by " one fingle victory they would possess themselves of the Persian empire; and that the spoils of the east would be the reward of their bravery and toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the remembrance of "the many calamities which the Persians (those ir-" reconcileable enemies to Greece) had brought up-" on them;" and fet before them "the famous battle " of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of " Platææ, and the many others, by which they had " acquired immortal glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who used to subsist by plunder and rapine, " view the enemy's army, every part of " which

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"which shone with gold and purple, and was not loaded so much with arms as with booty. That they therefore should push forward (they who were men) and strip all those women of their ornaments; and exchange their mountains, covered perpetually with ice and snow, for the smiling plains and rich fields of Persia." The moment he had ended, the whole army set up a shout, and eagerly

defired to be led on directly against the enemy.

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Alexander had advanced at first very flowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: but when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right (wing) to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that they might surprize the Barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful. Both fides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged on both fides fword in hand, when a dreadful flaughter enfued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his fword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private foldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who being feated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own foldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; for that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each fide fought with incredible bravery. brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above all the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about; and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the

the point of overturning the king, who, feeing himfelf going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this sled as fast as possible, and, throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but hap-

pily it was not attended with ill consequences.

Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry (posted to the right) were carrying on the advantage they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater resistance. These observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right (wing) of Alexander's army, which was purfuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the diforder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also fignalized themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preferve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been confidered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between these two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increased their courage, and made the refistance on each fide very vigorous. On Alexander's fide, Ptolomy the fon of Seleucus lost his life, with an hundred and twenty more confiderable officers, who all had behaved with the utmost gallantry. an anomal stom war sin

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously; and at-

tacking them in flank, entirely routed them,

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Perfian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had control horfe
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had croffed the river, and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and oblige the Persians to break their ranks, made a seint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and considence; and thereupon the greatest part of them, advancing without order or precaution as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this, the Thessalians seeing them in such consusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardor. The Persians made a very brave desence, till they saw Darius put to slight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Persian cavalry compleated the deseat of the army. The Persian horse suffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they re ired in disorder, and crouded in great numbers through passes, they bruised and unhorsed one another, and were more annoyed by their own soldiers than by the enemy. Besides, the Thessalian cavalry pursued them with so much survey, that they were as much shattered

as the infantry, and loft as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before observed, the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who sled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Persian horse put to slight; which was of great advantage to the prince that sled.

About eight thousand of the Greeks that were in Darius's service (with their officers at their head, who were very brave) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where finding the transports which had brought them from Lesbos upon dry ground, they

fitted out as many of them as fuited their purpole, and

burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued.

As for the Barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Sysigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who also was his sister, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a son of his, (a child) and some Persian ladies. For the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents * were sound in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at

his taking the city of Damascus.

Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, seeing night draw on, and that it would be impossible for him to evertake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. (i) Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The † Persians, either in the engagement or the rout, lost a great number of their forces, both horse and foot; but very sew were killed on Alexander's side.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court and his chief officers to a feast, at which he himfelf was present, notwithstanding the wound he had

rian relates, that no more than an bundred and fifty borse, and three bundred foot were lost on Alexander's side, which does not seem very probable.

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⁽i) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

^{*} About 440000 I. Serling.
† According to Quintus Curtius
and Arrian, the Persians lost an
bundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. And the former histo-

received, it having only grazed the skin. But they were no sooner set down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noise, intermixed with groans, which frighted all the company; insomuch that the soldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being asraid of an insurrection. But it was found, that the persons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had seen Darius's cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stripped him of that garment, had carried them that salse account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he confidered the fad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon fent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to affure them, that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking some foldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and fent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons, who were at the entrance of the tent, feeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that foldiers were dispatched to murder them; so that these princesses, being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his foldiers at the door, and came into the tent: but their terror increased, when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and intreated, that " before he put them to death, they might be allowed

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to bury Darius after the manner of their country; and that when they had paid this last duty to their king they should die contented." Leonatus answered, "That Darius was living; and that so far from giving them any offence, they should be treated as

queens, and live in their former fplendor." gambis hearing this, began to recover her spirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raife her

from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after vifiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practifed in her country. However, this prudent princess used that permission in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with fuch a modesty and reserve as the thought fuited her present condition. The king testified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, especially to the chief officers, whose actions he applauded in the strongest terms, as well those of which he himself had been an eye-witness, as such as stad been only related to him; and he made prefents to all, according to their merit and flation.

After Alexander had performed these several duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he fent a meffage to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a vifit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæstion. He was his favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his fecrets to him, and * nobody else dared to speak so freely to him; but even Hephæstion made so cautious and discreet a use of that liberty, that he seemed to

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^{*} Libertatis quoque in eo ad- gis à rege permissum quam vindimonendo non alius jus habebat; catum ab eo videretur. Q. Curt,

take it, not so much out of inclination, as from a defire to obey the king, who would have it fo. They were of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him at first for the king, and paid him their respects as such: but some captive eunuchs shewing them Alexander, Sysigambis fell prostrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as she had never feen him, she hoped that consideration would plead her apology. The king, raifing her from the ground, Dear mother, fays he, you are not mistaken, for he also is an Alexander: * A fine expression, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have justly merited the title of Great; but + fortune had not yet corrupted his foul. He bore her at first with moderation and wisdom; but at last she overpowered him, and he became unable to refift her.

Syfigambis, strongly affected with these testimonies of goodness and humanity, could not forbear testifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great prince, said she to him, what words shall I find to express my thanks, in such a manner as may answer your generosity! You call me your mother, and honour me still with the title of queen, whereas I consess myself your captive. I || know what I have been, and what I now am. I know the whole extent of my past grandeur, and find I can support all the weight of my present ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have an absolute power over us, to make us feel it by your elemency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princesses, took Darius's son in his arms. This little child, without discovering the least terror, embraced Alexander, who

* O donum inclitæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti speciosum! Val. Max. 1. 4. c. 7.

† Sed nondum fortuna fe animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderatè & prudenter tulit: ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. 2. Curt.

|| Et præteritæ fortunæ fastigium capio, & præsentis jugum pati possum. Q. Curt.

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being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæstion, said to him; O that Darius had had

some portion of this tender disposition!

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in such a manner, that he surpassed, in clemency and goodness, all the kings his predecessors; and was superior to a passion which conquers and enslaves the strongest. Darius's confort was the most lovely princes in the world, as he himself was the most beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and most majestic shape; and the princesses their daughters resembled them. They were, says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a facred temple, and a sanctuary designed for the asylum of chastity, in which all the princesses lived so retired, that they were not seen by any person, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the first visit above-mentioned, which was a respectful and ceremonious one. Alexander, to avoid exposing himself to the dangers of human frailty, took a folemn refolution never to visit Darius's queen any more. (k) He himself informs us of this memorable circumstance, in a letter wrote by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians, who had forced the wives of fome foreign foldiers. In this letter the following words were read; For, as to myfelf, it will be found that I neither faw, nor would fee, the wife of Darius; and did not suffer any person to speak of her beauty before me. We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been observed of the first (1) Scipio on a like occasion. Et juvenis, & cælebs, & victor.

To conclude, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them sensible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they possessed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexan-

(1) Plut. in Alex.

(1) Val. Max. 1. 4. c. 3.

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(m) A Arrian. 1 Justin. 1, der, but that trust and confidence, which no one can repose in an enemy, how kindly soever he behaves.

Sect. VI. Alexander marches victorious into Syria. The treasures deposited in Damascus are delivered to him. Darius writes a letter to Alexander in the most baughty terms, which he answers in the same stile. The gates of the city of Sidon are opened to him. Abdolonymus is placed upon the throne against his will. Alexander lays siege to Tyre, which at last, after having made a vigorous defence, is taken by storm. The fulfilling of the different prophecies relating to Tyre.

(m) A Lexander set out towards Syria, after having consecrated three alters on the river Pinarius, the first to Jupiter, the fecond to Hercules, the third to Minerva, as fo many monuments of his victory. He had fent Parmenio to Damascus, in which Darius's The governor of the city, treasure was deposited. betraying his fovereign from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treasure and other rich stores of Darius. being defirous of covering his treason with a specious pretext, he pretended that he was not fecure in the city, fo caused, by day-break, all the money and the richest things in it to be put on mens backs, and fled away with the whole, feemingly with intention to fecure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the first fight of the forces which this general headed, those who carried the burthens being frighted, threw them down, and fled away, as did the foldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himself, who was most terrified. On this occasion immense riches were feen scattered up and down the fields; all the

(m) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332. Diod. l. 17. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. 2. p. 83—86. Plut, in Alex. p. 678. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 1. Justin. l. 11. c. 10.

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gold and filver designed to pay so great an army; the splendid equipages of so many great lords and ladies; the golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers: In a word, whatever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the

conqueror.

But the most moving part of this sad scene was, to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them, so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their missortune. Among these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There also were taken prisoners the wife and son of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious general: insomuch that scarce one noble samily in all Persia but shared in this calamity.

There also was found in Damascus the ambassadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a safe asylum, when he put them under the

protection of that traitor.

Besides money, and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. (n) We find by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well skilled in music; and also a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make pies, and all things in the pastry (n) Athen. 1. 13. p. 607.

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way, to preside over the wine-cellars, to give out the wine, and such-like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of these officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his destruction!

Darius, who, a few hours before, was at the head of fo mighty and splendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a defart or vast solitude. This illfated prince rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the fame road, and most of those who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horses. At last he arrived at * Sochus, where he affembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thousand men, including Persians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all possible hafte to Thapfacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damascus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewise of the captives. Most of the cities of Syria surrendered at the first approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he stilled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, " to ask any sum of money he should think proper, by way of ransom for his mother, his wife and children.

"That with regard to their dispute for empire, he might, if he thought proper, decide it in one gene-

" ral battle, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops: but that in case he were

"fill capable of good counsel, he would advise him

" to rest contented with the kingdom of his ancestors,

^{*} This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.

and not invade that of another; that they should henceforward live as good friends and faithful allies; that he himself was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and to receive Alexander's oath." This letter, which breathed fo unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer: "Alexander the king to Darius. The antient Darius, whose name of you assume, in former times entirely ruined the "Greeks who inhabit the coasts of the Hellespont and the Ionians, our antient colonies. He next croffed " the fea at the head of a powerful army, and carried the war into the very heart of Macedonia and "Greece, After him, Xerxes made another descent with a dreadful number of Barbarians, in order to " fight us; and having been overcome in a naval ense gagement, he left, at his retiring, Mardonius in " Greece, who plundered our cities, and laid waste our plains. But who has not heard that Philip, my father, was affaffinated by wretches suborned thereto by your partizans, in hopes of a great reward? " For it is customary with the Persians to undertake impious wars, and, when armed in the field, to fet a price upon the heads of their enemies. And even vou yourfelf, though at the head of a vast army, 66 however promised a thousand talents to any person who should kill me. I therefore only defend myfelf, and confequently am not the aggressor. And in-"deed the gods, who always declare for the just cause, have favoured my arms; and, aided by their pro-" tection, I have subjected a great part of Asia, and 66 defeated you, Darius, in a pitched battle. Howees ver, though I ought not to grant any request you " make, fince you have not acted fairly in this war; " nevertheless, in case you will appear before me in a " fupplicating posture, I give you my word, that I "will restore to you, without any ransom, your mo-"ther, your wife and children. I will let you fee, C. cor units Tries

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"that I know how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered *. If you are afraid of furrendering yourself to me, I now assure you, upon my homour, that you may do it without the least danger: but remember, when you next write to me, that you write not only to a king, but to your king." Thersippus was ordered to carry this letter.

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Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced; but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have feen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the fword. After he was returned into Perfia, fuch of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffic, or for fome other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained fo violent a hatred of the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke; and indeed they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of fo exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city; to these he offered the crown: but they resused it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne, unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemm what others strive to obtain by fire and sword; "Con"tinue (says he to them) in this way of thinking;
"you, who before were sensible that it is much more
"glorious to resuse a diadem, than to accept it. How-

ever, name me some person of the royal family,

Et vincere, & consulere victis scio. Q. Curt.

"who may remember, when he is king, that it was "you fet the crown on his head." The brothers, observing that several through excessive ambition aspired to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile court to Alexander's savourites, declared, that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal line; but who, at the same time was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day-labour in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to so extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in fearch of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then faluted him king, and one of them addressed him thus: " You " must now change your tatters for the dress I have " brought you. Put off the mean and contemptible " habit in which you have grown old; * affume the fentiments of a prince; but when you are feated on the throne, continue to preferve the virtue " which made you worthy of it. And when you 66 shall have ascended it, and by that means become the supreme dispenser of life and death over all your citizens, be fure never to forget the condition in which, or rather for which, you was elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and unable to guess the meaning of it, asked, if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater refistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with

necisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris hujus statûs in quo accipis regnum, imò hercule, propter quem. Q. Curt.

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^{*} Cape Regis animum, & in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali solio residebia, vitae

gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in

earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

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The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it; but some murmured, especially the rich, who, despising Abdolonymus's former abject state, could not forbear shewing their resentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the newelected prince to be fent for; and, after furveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy * air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy " extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty.— "Would to the gods (replied he) that I may bear " this crown with equal patience. These hands have of procured me all I defired; and whilft I poffessed " nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; fo that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Perfian plunder, but likewife annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

(p) Syria and Phoenicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious,

⁽p) Diod. I. 17. p. 518—525. Arrian. l. 2. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678 & 667. Q. Curt. i. 4. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. 11. c. 10.

^{*} Corporis, inquit, habitus, famæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris. Tum ille: utinam, inquit,

⁺ The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the regal prover as a burthen, more difficult to be borne than powerty: regnum pati.

laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the center of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians fent him an embaffy with prefents for himfelf, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their mafter; fo that when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a facrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too high an heart to put up such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they, on the other fide, were determined to fustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a * league from the continent. It was furrounded with a strong wall an hundred and fifty foot high, which the waves of the sea washed; and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre) a mighty people, and fovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city offering to Hercules, according to antient custom, an annual facrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this made them fo haughty. Firmly determined not to furrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build work-houses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; fo that every part refounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise cast iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as also crampirons, and such-like instruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined, that there were essential reafons why he should possess himself of Tyre. He was 1

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fensible that he could not invade Egypt easily, so long as the Persians should be masters of the sea; nor purfue Darius with fafety, in case he should leave behind him fo large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or suspected to be fo. He likewise was afraid, lest some insurrection should break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken in his absence the maritime cities of Asia minor, and increased their fleet, would make his country the feat of war during his being employed in pursuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. These apprehensions were the more justly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly against him; and the Athenians fided with him more out of fear than affection. But, that in case he should conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then subject to him, he would be able to disposses the Persians of half their naval army, which consisted of the fleet of that province; and would foon make himself master of the island of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not refift him the instant he was become mafter at fea.

On the other fide, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Issus, ought to have pursued Darius vigoroufly, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raise a new army; the fuccess of the enterprize, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and fuperior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in case Alexander should not be able to take this city (which was not very unlikely) he would discredit his own arms; would lose the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chastise the pride of Tyre, as will be feen hereafter, did not once permit tho'e thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay siege to the place, in spite of all the difficult. s which opposed so hazardous a design, and the many reafous. reasons which should have prompted him to pursue

quite different measures.

It was impossible to come near this city in order to form it, without making a bank which should reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were feemingly infurmountable. The little arm of the fea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west-wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all works. Besides, as the city was furrounded on all fides by the fea, there was no fixing fcaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall, which projected into the fea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines which might have been put on board the gallies, could not do much execution, the waves were fo very tumultuous. to their situakse they could stoud to ale

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquishing the resolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few veffels he possessed lay at a great distance from him, and the fiege of fo strong a place might possibly last a long time, and fo retard his other enterprizes, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. Accordingly, he fent heralds, who proposed a peace between Alexander and their city; but these the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the fea. Alexander, exasperated at fo cruel an outrage, formed a resolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raifing a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which stood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the stones and rubbish from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far distant from it, so famous in scripture for its cedars, surnished him with wood for piles, and other timber-work.

The foldiers began the pier with great alacrity, be-

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ing animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders; and who, * knowing perfectly how to infinuate himfelf into, and gain the affections of his troops, excited some by praifes, and others by flight reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions, and softened by promises. At first they advanced with pretty great speed, the piles being easily drove into the flime, which ferved as mortar for the stones; and as the place where these works were carrying on, was at some distance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with; because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were mafters of the fea, coming forward in great boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding infults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's foldiers, "That it was a noble fight to fee those conque-" rors, whose names were to renowned all the world over, carrying burthens on their backs like to many " beafts." And they would afterwards afk them, in a contemptuous tone of voice, " whether Alexander " were greater than Neptune; and if they pretended " to prevail over that god?"

But these taunts did but inflame the courage of the soldiers. At last, the bank appeared above water, began to shew a level of a considerable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the besieged perceiving with terror the vastness of the work, which the sea had till then kept from their sight, came in their ship-boats in order to view the bank, which was not yet very firm. These boats were full of slingers, bowmen, and others who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being spread to the right and lest about the bank, they shot on all sides upon the workmen, several of whom were wounded; it not being possible for them to ward off the blows,

^{*} Haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos. Q. Curt.

because of the great ease and swiftness with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; so that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themselves. It was therefore refolved, that fkins and fails should be foread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to

prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other fide, the Tyrians made a descent on the shore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed fome foldiers, who cut to pieces those that carried the stones: and on mount Libanus, there also were fome Arabian peasants, who meeting the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very near the fame number. These small losses obliged Alexander to separate his troops into different bodies.

The befieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every ftratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a transport-vessel, and filling it with brushes, and such-like dry materials, made a large inclosure near the prow wherein they threw all these things, with sulphur, and pitch, and other combustible matters. In the middle of this inclosure they fet up two masts, to each of which they fixed two fail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and fuch-like unctuous fubstances. They afterwards loaded the hinder-part of the veffel with flones and fand, in order to raise the prow; and, taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to fea by the affistance of their gallies. As foon as they were come near the towers, they fet fire to the vessel in question, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time, the failors who were in it, leaped into the fea and fwam away. Immediately the fire catched, with great violence, the towers, and the rest of the works which were at the head of the bank; and then the fail-yards being drove backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increased the flame. But, to prevent the

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quit deb: fupe pror all I Macedonians from extinguishing it, the Tyrians, who were in their gallies, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, insomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians lost their lives in a miserable manner on the bank; being either shot through with arrows, or burnt to death: whilst others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the sea. But as they were swimming away, the Tyrians, chusing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and stones; and, after disabling them, carried them off. At the same time the besieged, coming out of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the bank, tore up its stakes, and burnt the rest of the engines.

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Alexander, though he faw most of his defigns defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected upon that account. His foldiers endeavoured. with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank : and made and planted new machines with fo prodigious a speed, as quite assonished the enemy. Alexander himfelf was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities advanced these still more, than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with fo much fury against the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water rushing through the stones broke it in the middle. As foon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole funk at once, as into an abyss.

Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprize; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and, dispelling all his sear and anxiety, inspired him with courage

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and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

Alexander was fenfible, that it would not be possible for him either to compleat the bank, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians should continue masters at sea. He therefore resolved to affemble before Sidon his few remaining gallies. At the fame time, the kings of * Aradus and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Persian sleet, joined him with theirs and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty fail. There arrived alfo, much about the fame time, ten gallies from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phoenicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty gallies.ans Jema s

The king, whilk his foldiers were preparing the ships and engines, took some troops of horse, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was absolutely resolved to follow his pupil, exposed Alexander to very great danger, This was Lyfimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his scholar, and called himself + Phoenix. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horse, and began to walk. His troops got a considerable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and fcarce able to walk, he by that means was separated from his little army, ac-

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^{*} Cities of Phanicia. The It is well known that Phanix was governor to Achilles.

companied only by very few foldiers; and in this manner spent the whole night very near the enemy, who were so numerous that they might easily have overpowered him. However, his usual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; so that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the strong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, son of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of four

thousand Greeks from Peloponnesus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took fome foldiers from among his guards, and these he embarked with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then fet fail towards Tyre in battle-He himself was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phoenicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and faw the army advance that made a great appearance, (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming up of his left wing) they kept all their gallies in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king faw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the great narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of gallies, all whose prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only funk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst all these things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with

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clay, which ferved instead of mortar. Afterwards, heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole, thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of fuch arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The befieged, on the other fide, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to ftop the progress of the work. But nothing was of fo much fervice to them as their divers, who fwimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew fuch branches to them as projected beyond the work; and, pulling forward with great strength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one remora to the carrying on of the work; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen furmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to shake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the befiegers arrows, stones, and burning torches.

At the same time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its station before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other fide of the bank facing Egypt, towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himself to attack the city on every side. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that fide which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great stones cemented together with mortar. The access to any other part was very near as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great stones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The business then was, first to draw these away, which

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could not be done but with the utmost difficulty, because as the soldiers stood in ships, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Besides, the Tyrians advanced with covered gallies, and cut the cables which held the ships at anchor; so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, feveral vessels of thirty rowers each, and to flation these crosswife, to secure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian gallies. But still, divers came and cut them unperceived, fo that they were at last forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew these stones with cableropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the fea, where it was not possible for them to do any further mischief. foot of the wall being thus cleared, the veffels had very easy access to it. In this manner the Tyrians were invefted on all fides, and attacked at the fame time both by fea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) gallies, with four men chained to each oar, in fuch a manner, that the prows were fastened, and the sterns so far distant one from the other, as was necessary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one stern to the other fail-yards, which were fastened together by planks laid cross-wife, in order for the soldiers to stand fast on the space. The gallies being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and shot (under covert) against those who defended the walls, the prows serving them as fo many parapets. The king caused them to advance about midnight, in order to furround the walls, and make a general affault. The Tyrians now gave themselves for lost, when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The fea rifes by insensible degrees; and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, rife to a dreadful storm. The vessels dash one against the other with so much violence, that the bluocables,

cables, which before fastened them together, are either loosened, or break to pieces; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carry off the soldiers with them: for the tempest was so surious, that it was not possible to manage or steer gallies thus fastened together. The soldier was a hindrance to the sailor, and the sailor to the soldier; and, as happens on such occasions, those obeyed whose business it was to command; fear and anxiety throwing all things into consustion. But now the rowers exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they got the better of the sea, and seemed to tear their ships out of the waves. At last they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part in a shattered condition.

At the same time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambassadors from Carthage, who did not bring the least fuccours, though they had promifed fuch mighty Instead of this, they only made excuses, declaring that it was with the greatest grief the Carthaginians found themselves absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themselves were engaged in a war, not as * before for empire, but to fave their country. And indeed the Syracufans were laying waste all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though frustrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wife precautions to fend most of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themselves might be in a condition to defend themselves to the last extremity, and bear more courageously the greatest calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a fecure afylum, what they most valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen statue of Apollo, of an enormous size. This Colossus had formerly stood

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^{*} See Vol. I. in the bistory of Carthage.

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in the city of Gela in Sicily. (q) The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Christ, had given it, by way of present, to the city of Tyre, which they always confidered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had fet it up in their city, and worship was paid to it. During the siege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they fastened with a gold chain his statue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the Deity in question from leaving them. For these people were filly enough to believe, that after his flatue was thus fastened down, it would not be possible for him to make his escape; and that he would be prevented from doing so by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a strange idea the heathens had of their divinities. Infresd of this, they on

Some of the Tyrians proposed the restoring of a facrifice which had been discontinued for many ages; and this was, to facrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this facrilegious custom from their founders, preserved it till the destruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were invested with the greatest authority in Tyre, opposed this cruelly-superstitious custom, a child would have been butchered on this occasion.

The Tyrians, finding their city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, resolved to fall upon the Cyprian sleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the seamen of Alexander's sleet were dispersed up and down; and that he himself was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the sea-shore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with thirteen gallies, all manned with choice soldiers who were used to sea-sights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's vessels. Part of them they sound empty, and the rest had been manned in great haste. Some

⁽⁹⁾ Diod. l. 13. p. 226.

of these they sunk, and drove several of them against the shores, where they dashed to pieces. The loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, the instant he heard of this fally, advanced at the head of his whole sleet with all imaginable dispatch against the Tyrians. However, these did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having also

loft some of their ships.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all fides, and as vigorously defended. The befieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darks difcharged from the baliftas against them, by the affistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by fetting up a kind of fails and curtains made of a foft fubftance, which eafily gave way. To annoy the thips which advanced against their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and fcythes to joysts or beams: then straining their catapultas, (an enormous kind of crossbows) they laid these great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy. These crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or penfile fcythes with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did confiderable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling these with burning fand, hurled them in an inflant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians fo much dreaded as this last invention; for, the moment this burning fand got to the flesh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and fluck fo close, that there was no pulling it off; fo that the foldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their cloaths

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It was then Alexander, discouraged at so vigorous a defence, debated feriously, whether it would not be proper for him to raise the siege, and go for Egypt: for, after having over-run Asia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progress unhappily retarded; and loft, before a fingle city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other fide, he confidered that it would be a great blemish to his reputation, which had done him greater service than his arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore resolved to make a last effort with a great number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a fecond naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls: however, he either took or funk a great number of their ships.

Alexander, after letting his forces repose themselves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general affault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each fide, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the Argyraspides mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a * partizan, as he was encouraging his foldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers

^{*} A kind of balbert,

which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his infignia and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occafion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, feveral of those who defended the wall; then, advancing nearer to them, he forced fome with his fword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall. He foon went over it, by the affistance of floatingbridges, and followed by the nobility, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. battering-rams had already made feveral breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour, and some of the Macedonians had poffeffed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, feeing the enemy mafter of their rampart, retired towards an open place called Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of bodyguards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, Tyre being taken on that fide which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long refistance of the belieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the fight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, feeing themselves overpowered on all sides, some fly to the temple, to implore the affistance of the gods; others, shutting themselves in their houses, escape the sword of the conqueror, by a voluntary death; in fine, others rush upon the enemy, firmly resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Most of the citizens were got on the house-tops, whence they threw stones, and whatever came first to hand, upon such as advanced forward into the city.

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The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants ex-(those excepted who had sheltered themselves in the nade his temples) and to set fire to every part of Tyre. as a though this order was published by found of trumpet, yet not one person who carried arms flew to the asylums. ccafe-The temples were filled with fuch old men and children cing only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houses, in expectation every and fea; instant of being facrificed to the rage of the foldiers. vall. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian foldiers who ingwere in Alexander's camp, faved great numbers of nfelf them. For, having entered the city indifcriminately The with the conquerors, and calling to mind their antient the affinity with the Tyrians, Agenor having founded Maboth Tyre and Sidon; they, for that reason, carried hich off great numbers privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit, fifteen emy thousand were saved from the rage of the conqueror; open and we may judge of the greatness of the flaughter, ind; from the number of the foldiers who were cut to odyft to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted that to fix thousand. However, the king's anger not being nians fully appealed, he exhibited a scene which appeared g no dreadful, even to the conquerors; for two thousand afpemen remaining after the foldiers had been glutted with d the flaughter, Alexander caused them to be fixed upon their crosses along the sea-shore. He pardoned the ambassaidon, dors of Carthage, who were come to their metroporoats lis, to offer up a facrifice to Hercules, according to annual custom. The number of prisoners, both foreignon all ers and citizens, amounted to thirty thousand, who Rance were all fold. As for the Macedonians, their loss was

(r) Alexander himself sacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the sleet. He also solemnized Gymnastic exercises in honour of the same god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the statue of

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⁽r) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332. Vol. VI. K Apoll,

Apollo, above mentioned, he took off the chains from it, restored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god should thenceforwards be sirnamed Philalexander, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks begun to pay him this solemn worship, for having occasioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this statue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having sustained a seven months

fiege.

Thus was accomplished the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets against the city of Tyre. * Nabuchodonofor had begun to execute those threats, by besieging and taking it; and they were compleated by the fad catastrophe we have here described. As this double event forms one of the most considerable passages in history, and that the scriptures have given us several very remarkable circumstances of it; I shall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion; the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; in fine, its last re-establishment, but in a manner entirely different from that Methinks, I revive on a sudden, when, through the multitude of profane histories which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to fay more, of the Almighty; the facred scriptures exhibit themselves, and unfold to me the fecret defigns of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of those things which appear the most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I shall here present the reader with a little extract of the history of that samous city, by which he will be the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

* Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our version.

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(s) Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem: for this reason it is called by Isaiah, The daughter of Sidon. It foon surpassed its mother-city in extent, power and riches.

(t) It was befieged by Salmanafar, and alone refisted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phænicians; a circumstance which greatly heightened its

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(u) Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre, at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with most of their effects, into a neighbouring island, where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has fince been no more than a village, known by the name of Palæ-Tyrus, or antient Tyre: but the new one rose to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flourishing condition, when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begins the seventy years of obscurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Isaiah. It was indeed soon repaired, because the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, faved fifteen thousand of their citizens, (as was before observed) who, after their return, applied themselves to traffic, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; befides which, the women and children, who had been fent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of fafety, returned to it at the same time. But Tyre was confined to the island in which it stood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had loft the empire of the sea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus besieged it with a strong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppose him. This second siege, which reduced it a

⁽s) A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1712. Joseph. Antiq. I. 8. c. 3. (t) A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. Joseph. Antiq. I. 9. c. 14. (2) A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572. Joseph. Antiq. I. 10. c. 11.

fecond time to captivity, plunged it into the state of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itself and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Isaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the same time, resumed its former vices; till at last converted by the preaching of the gospel, it became a holy and religious city. The sacred writings acquaint us with part of these revolutions, and this is what we are now to shew.

(x) Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was confidered as one of the most antient and flourishing cities of the world. Its industry and very advantageous fituation had raifed it to the fovereignty of the feas, and made it the center of all the trade in the universe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Perfia, and India, to the most remote western coasts; from Scythia and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the fouthern countries; all nations contributed to the increase of its riches, splendor and power. Not only the feveral things useful and necesfary to fociety, which those various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and best adapted to the support of luxury and pride; all these, I say, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other fide, as from a common fource, difperfed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inspiring mankind with a love for ease, vanity, luxury and voluptuousness.

(y) A long, uninterrupted feries of prosperities had swelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to consider herself as the queen of cities; a queen, whose head is adorned with a diadem; whose correspondents are illustrious princes; whose rich traders dispute for superiority with kings; who sees every maritime power,

(v) Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4. 25-32, 33.

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⁽x) Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxvii. 4-25.

either as her allies or dependents; and who made her-

felf necessary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the measure of her iniquity, by her impiety against God, and her barbarity exercised against his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jerusalem, in the insulting words following.

(2) Behold then the gates of this so populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her spoils, now she is laid waste. (a) She was not satisfied with having reduced the Jews to a state of captivity, notwithstanding the alliance between them; with selling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their most cruel enemies: (b) she likewise had seized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the most precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

(c) This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is refolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought against her Nabuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overslow her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, in order, to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandizes and treasures to the soldier, and to raze Tyre to the very soundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dis-

persed all its inhabitants.

(d) By this fo unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the aftonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will only directs the enterprizes of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses, and

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⁽²⁾ Ibid. v. 2. (a) Joel iii. 2, 8. Amos i. 9, 10. (b) Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10. (c) Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvii. 3—12, and 19. xxvii. 27, 34. (d) Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18. and xxvii. 33, 36. Ifa. xxiii. 8, 9.

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repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it. (d) She still was pussed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea; of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches and splendor, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; (e) of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

(f) But fince this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God had given her, in the person of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppressed by all the forces of the east, she still would not learn to confide no longer in the falle and imaginary supports of her own greatness: (g) Gods foretels her another chastifement, which he will fend upon her from the west, near 400 years after the first. (b) Her destruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom fo weak and obscure, that it had been defpiled a few years before; a kingdom whence the could never have expected fuch a blow. Tyre, poffeffed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped up as mire in the streets, and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, does not imagine she has any thing to fear from those new enemies, who, being fituated at a great distance from her, without either money, frength, or reputation; having neither harbours nor fhips, and being quite unskilled in navigation, cannot therefore, as the imagines, annoy her with their land-(i) Tyre looks upon herfelf as impregnable, forces.

⁽d) Isa. xxiii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12.

(f) Isa. xxiii. 13.

(g) Isa. xxiii. 11, 12. Isa. xxiii. 1.

(b) 1 Maccas. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2, 5.

(i) Isa. xxiii. 10, 11, 13.

because

because she is defended by lofty fortifications, and furrounded on all fides by the fea as with a moat and a girdle: nevertheless Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demolish those ramparts which ferved her as a fecond enclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boafting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during feventy years, to the mean condition of a flave. (k) The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth. (1) Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and she will prove to all cities a subject of forrow and groans, by making them lofe the present means and the future

hopes of enriching themselves.

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(m) To prove, in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin is not incredible, and that all the ftrength and wildom of man can no ways ward off or suspend the punishment which God has prepared for pride and the abuse of riches: Isaiah fets before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been an example to ! er. city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the most antient, the most populous, and embellished with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which feemed to be inhabited only by families, which she had brought forth and fent out as fo many colonies, whose common parent she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, the is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire

⁽¹⁾ Tfa. xxiii. 9. (1) Ibid. ver. 1, 17, 14. (m) Ibid. e as the imagines, annoy her with thill, is

deans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised

^{*} Rebold the land of the Chal- up the palaces thereof, and be brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish : for your strength is laid wafte. Ifa. xxiii. 13, 14.

The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the belieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of providence, for wild beasts to dwell in; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or else to fink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven against her, viz. to deprive her of the empire of the sea, and destroy her sleets, will not

be fulfilled?

(n) To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity, God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during threefcore and ten years. (0) But after this feason of obfcurity, she will again endeavour to appear with the air of a harlot, whose charms and artifices she shall affume; she will employ her utmost endeavours to corrupt youth, and footh their passions. To promote her commerce she will use fraud, deceit, and the most infidious arts. She will vifit every part of the world, to collect the most rare and most delicious products of every country; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and fplender; and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And the will fet every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of feventy years.

(q) Thus, in proportion, as the Almighty shall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she shall return to her former shameful traffic,

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⁽n) Isa. xxiii. 15.

⁽o) Ver. 16.

⁽⁹⁾ Ver. 17.

which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions she had applied to such pernicious uses.

(r) But at last, Tyre, converted by the gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those who serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them; but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of

believers and ministers of the gospel.

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One of God's defigns, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give us a just idea of a traffic, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the fame with private persons) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit (from their industry, labour, and the success of their applications and conduct) to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after: but God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; as a woman, whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only fooths the passions and flatters the fenses; who abhors modesty and every fentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every characteristic of chastity, glories in igno-We are not to infer from hence, that traffic is finful in itself; but we should separate from the esfential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and Tyre, converted to christianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

⁽r) Ver. 18,

and pulciality because on

Sect. VII. Darius writes a second letter to Alexander. Journey of the latter to Jerusalem. The homour he pays to Jaddus the high priest. He is shewn those prophecies of Daniel which relate to himself. The king grants great privileges to the Jews, but resules them to the Samaritans. He besieges and takes Gaza, enters Egypt and subdues that country. He there lays the foundations of Alexandria, then goes into Libya, where he visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and causes himself to be declared the son of that god. His return into Egypt.

(s) IIT HILST Alexander was carrying on the fiege of Tyre, he had received a fecond letter from Darius, who at last gave him the title of king. "He offered him ten thousand talents (thirty mil-" lions) as a ranfom for the captive princesses, and "his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Dafius hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune; and described, in the most pompous terms, the numberlefs troops, who were still under his command. "Could he (Alexander) think, that it was fo very easy to cross the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Hydaspes, which were as so many bulwarks to the Persian empire? That he should not be always thut up between rocks and passes: that they ought both to appear in a plain, and that then Alexander would be ashamed to come before him with " only a handful of men." The king hereupon fummoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of those offers, declaring he himself would agree to them, were he Alexander. And fo would I, replied Alexander, were I Parmenio. He therefore returned the following answer; " That " he did not want the money Darius offered him: "that it did not become Darius to offer a thing he no

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⁽s) Plut, in Alex, p. 681. Q. Curt. l. 4. cap. 5. Arrian. l. 2. p. 101.

" longer possessed, or to pretend to distribute what he " had entirely loft. That in case he was the only

" person who did not know which of them was supe-

" rior, a battle would foon determine it. That he

" should not think to intimidate, with rivers, a man "who had croffed fo many feas. That to whatfoever

" place he might find it proper to retire, Alexander

" would not fail to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this answer, lost all hopes of an accommoda-

tion, and prepared again for war.

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(t) From Tyre Alexander marched to Jerusalem. firmly refolved to shew it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reason. The Tyrians were fo much employed in traffic, that they quite neglected husbandry, and brought most of their corn and other provisions from the countries in their neighbourhood. (u) Galilea, Samaria and Judæa furnished them with the greatest quantities. At the same time that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to fend for provisions from those countries: he therefore fent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, defired to be excused, alledging that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and perfifted in answering, that they would never acknowledge any other fovereign as long as he was living: A rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they submitted with chearfulness to Alexander, and even sent him eight thousand men, to serve at the siege of Tyre and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader, in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time; and the cause of the strong antipathy between them and the Jews.

⁽t) Joseph. Antiq. 11. 8,

^(#) Acte xii, 20.

I observed * elsewhere, that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Asaraddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called Cuthei, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration

of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women; the evil however had spread so far, that the high priest's house, which ought to have been preserved more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. (x) One of the fons of Jehoida the high-prieft, whom Josephus calls Manasses, had married the daughter of Sanaballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was fo shamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately, or depart the country. (y) Manasses chose to go into banishment rather than separate himself from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himself; he there settled them under the protection of Sanaballat his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Persia, had forced into Phœnicia) leave to build on mount Garizim near Samaria, a temple like that of Jerusalem; and to appoint Manasses, his son-in-law,

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⁽x) 2 Efd. xiii. 28. (y) Joseph. A: tiquit.

priest thereof. From that time, Samaria became the asylum of all the malecontents of Judæa. And it was this raised the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple; and refuged all who sted from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been in-slicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judæa, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, had sent him a considerable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an

oath of allegiance, should be alive.

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Alexander, being little used to such an answer, particularly after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved, the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as ri-

gorously as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus the high-priest who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the Almighty; gave orders for the offering up public prayers to implore his assistance, and made facrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him "To cause flowers to be scattered up and down the city; to set open all the gates, and go, clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their vestments, and all the rest clothed in white, and meet Alexander, and not sear any evil from that king, inassume as he would protect them." This command was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city

to an eminence called * Sapha, whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jerusalem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phœnicians who were in his army, were perfuaded that the wrath of this prince was fo great, that he would certainly punish the high-priest after an exemplary manner, and destroy that city in the fame manner as he had done Tyre; and, flushed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people, to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As foon as the Iews heard of the king's approach, they fet out to meet him with all the pomp before described. Alexander was struck at the fight of the high-priest, in whose mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect; bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and faluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews furrounding Alexander, raifed their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized with inexpressible furprize; they could scarce believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a fight, fo contrary to their expectation, and so vastly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his aftonishment, asked the king how it came to pass that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews. "I do not, replied Alexander, "adore the high-priest, but the God whose minister he is; for whilst I was at Dia in Macedonia (my

" mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Perfian war) as I was revolving the methods how to

conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream; exhorted me

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^{*} The Hebrew word Sapha signifies, to discover from far, as from a tower or centry-box.

to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont boldly; and affured me, that God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory " over that of the Perfians." Alexander added, that the instant he faw this priest, he knew him by his habit, his stature, his air, and his face, to be the same person whom he had seen at Dia; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was fure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God in the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered facrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him by the high-prieft.

The high-priest, afterwards, shewed him those passages in the prophesy of Daniel which are spoken of that monarch. I shall here give an extract of them, to shew how conspicuously the most distant events are

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(2) God manifests, by the prophesy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them, in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his wisdom and power solely determine the course of events in all ages; (a) that he changes, by the meer effect of his will, the whole sace of human affairs; that he sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the antient ones, and essays them, even to the very sootsteps of them, with the same ease as the wind carries off the smallest chaff from the threshing-sloor.

(b) God's design, in subjecting states to such astonishing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his presence as nothing; that he alone is the most

⁽z) Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37. (a) Ib. ii. 35. (b) Dan. iv. 32, 34, 35, 36. high,

high, the eternal king, the fovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleases, with supreme power both in heaven and in earth. (c) For the putting this design in execution, the prophet sees an august council, in which the angels being appointed as spectators and overseers of governments and kings, enquire into the use which these make of the authority that heaven entrusted them with, in quality of his ministers; and when they abuse it, these * spirits, zealous for the glory of their Sovereign, beseech God to punish their injustice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by casting them from the throne, and raising to it the most abject among mankind.

(d) God, to make these important truths still more sensible, shews Daniel sour dreadful beasts who rise from a vast sea, in which the sour winds combat together with sury; and, under these symbols, he represents to the prophet the origin, the characteristics, and fall of the sour great empires, which are to govern the whole world successively. A dreadful, but too real image! For, empires rise out of noise and consusion; they subsist in blood and slaughter; they exercise their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places; but yet, in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes, and unforeseen destruction.

(e) The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires. After having represented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with such of its characteristics, as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with sour heads and sour wings, he shadows

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⁽c) Dan. iv. 14. (d) Ibid. vii. 2, 3. (e) Ibid. vii. 4, 5, 6.

^{*} It was at the defire of these angels, that Nabuchodonosor was driven from the society of men to berd with wild heasts.

Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; rash and impetuous in his resolutions, rapid in his conquests; slying with the swistness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, sour of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, di-

vide it among themselves.

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(f) To this picture the prophet adds elsewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the fuccession of the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the three first kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predeceffors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have rose to its highest pitch, will affemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what fuccess they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, a soft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his projects.

question, attacked unsuccessfully by the Persians, there will arise a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprizes; he shall extend his dominion far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations: but at a time when he shall imagine himself to be most firmly seated on the throne, he shall lose his life, with the regal dignity, and not leave any posterity to succeed him in it. This new monarchy, losing on a sudden the splendor and power for which it was so renowned under Alexander, shall divide itself towards the sour

⁽f) Dan. xi. 2.

⁽g) Ibid. xi. 3, 4.

winds of heaven. From its ruins there shall arise not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Asia minor, and Macedon, but also several other foreigners, or Barbarians, shall usurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of these.

(b) In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet compleats the description in fill stronger colours, the character, the battles, the feries of fuccesses, the rife and fall of these two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the first of these empires shall be composed of Persians and Medes; that its strength shall confist in the union of these two nations; that the Persians shall nevertheless exceed the Medes in authority; that they shall have a feries of conquests, without meeting with any opposition; that they shall first extend them towards the west, by subduing the Lydians, the provinces of Asia minor and Thrace; that they shall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to fabdue part of Scythiag and the nations bordering on the Caspian seas in fines that they shall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the fouth, by subjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they shall not invade the nations of the east.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the symbol of a he-goat of prodigious fize; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the west, in order to invade the empire of the Persians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immense marches in quest of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it shall advance towards this enemy with such rapidity, that it will seem only to skim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely subvert it by repeated victories, and destroy the double power of the Persians and Medes; during which not one monarch,

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⁽b) Dan. viii.

whether its ally or neighbour, shall give it the least succour.

But as foon as this monarchy shall have rose to its greatest height, Alexander, who formed its greatest strength, shall be snatched from it; and then there will arise, towards the four parts of the world, sour Grecian monarchies, which, though vastly inferior to that of Alexander, will however be very considerable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a feries of prophecies, all of them so clear, so exact, and so circumstantial; prophecies, which go so far as to point out, that a prince shall die without leaving a single successor from among his own family, and that sour of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we must peruse these prophecies in the scriptures themselves. The Vulgate agrees, a sew places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I shall translate * agreeable to the original text.

od (i) In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first. And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was et Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I faw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and faw, and behold there flood before the river a RAM, which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward: fortbat no beafts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great. And as I was confidening, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two borns, which I had feen

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⁽i) Dan. viii. 1—8.

^{*} We have not followed Mr. Rollin's translation here, believing it more proper to make use of our own wersion of the hible.

standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: but these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I shall not expatiate so much as the subject

might deserve.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with absolute sway, the sate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. All that prosane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the conquests of cities; battles won or lost; empires established or overthrown; in all these, I say, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their passions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewish nation, whom he considered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation fo repugnant to religion and even reason itself, God breaks at every interval his silence, disperses the clouds which hide nim, and condescends to discover to us the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretel a long series of years before the event, the sate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the succession,

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and the different characteristics of the four great empires to which he is determined to subject all the nations of the universe, viz. that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks; and, lastly, that of the Romans.

It is in the same view that he insists, very strongly, on the two most samous conquerors that ever existed; I mean, Cyrus and Alexander, the one sounder, the other destroyer of the powerful empire of Persia. He causes the sormer to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; prophesies, by the mouth of Isaiah, his victories; and relates the several circumstances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been seen seen before. On this occasion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and ascribes such qualities and characteristics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

These passages of scripture, in which God explains himself clearly, should be considered as very precious; and serve as so many keys to open to us the path to the secret methods by which he governs the world. These faint glimmerings of light, should enable a rational and religious man to see every thing else clearly; and make him conclude, from what is said of the four great empires, of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the several events of profane history, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all states, whose destiny depends entirely on his wisdom, his power, and his pleasure.

We may eafily figure to ourselves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such clear, such circumstantial and advantageous promises. Before he lest Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bid them ask any savour whatsoever. They answered, that their request was, to be allowed to live according to the laws which their ancestors had lest them, and to be exempt, the seventh

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year,

year, from their usual tribute; and for this reason, because they were forbid, by their laws, to sow their sields, and consequently could have no harvest. Alexander granted their request, and, upon the high-priest's beseeching him to suffer the Jews, who lived in Babylonia and Media, to live likewise agreeable to their own laws, he also indulged them in this particular with the utmost humanity; and said surther, that in case any of them would be willing to serve under his standards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worship, and to observe their respective customs: upon which offer great numbers listed themselves.

He was scarce come from Jerusalem, but the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them also the honour to visit their temple. As these had submitted voluntarily to Alexander, and fent him fuccours, they imagined that they deferved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themselves that they should obtain the same, and event much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made the pompous procession above-mentioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the eight thousand men they had fent to ferve under him, joined in the request made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteoufly; but faid, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to lofe; however, that he would visit their city at his return, in case he had opportunity. They then befought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every feventh year; upon which Alexander asked them, whether they were Jews? they made an ambiguous answer, which the king not having time to examine, he also suspended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

(i) Upon his arrival before that city, he found it

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⁽i) Diod. l. 17. p. 526. Arrian. l. 2. p. 101-103. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 6. Plut, in Alex. p. 679.

fon, their lexiest's Batheir cular at in r his their Ctive emamamohoitted they more they r inpous lexthey made courinto ever, le he exear; were

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provided with a strong garrison, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his fovereign. defended it with great vigour against Alexander. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was abfolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to befiege it. But although every art of war was employed; notwithstanding his soldiers fought with the utmost intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exasperated at its holding out fo long, and his receiving two wounds, he was refolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants and foldiers with a barbarity absolutely inexcusable; for he cut ten thousand men to pieces, and fold all the reft. with their wives and children, for flaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, Alexander, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly merited. this young monarch, who otherwise esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occasion with an infolent joy, spoke thus to him: Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou defiredft. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which revenge can invent. Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but a haughty air, did not make the least reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his difdainful silence: Observe, said he, I beseech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? has he hoke but even so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else. At last, Alexander's * anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his foldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boafted his having imitated, on

^{*} Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova subeunte fortuna. Q. Curt.

this occasion, Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged, in the same manner, round the walls of Troy; * as if a man ought ever to pride himfelf for having imitated fo ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more fo, in caufing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intrusted him; a falelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, ra-

ther than punished in so cruel a manner.

He fent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza, to Olympias, to Cleopatra his fifter, and to his friends. He also presented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, (or hundred weight) of frankincense, and an hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which feemed, even at that time, to prefage the conquests this monarch had lately atchieved. For Leonidas, observing Alexander take up whole handfuls of incense at a facrifice, and throw it into the fire, faid to him: Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country which produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense as you please; but, till that day comes, be sparing of what you have. monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: I fend you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing in your sacrifices to the Gods.

(k) As foon as Alexander had ended the fiege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In feven days march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had affembled, with all imaginable diligence,

to recognize him for their fovereign.

(k) A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. Diod. lib. 17. p. 526-529. Arrian. lib. 3. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679—681. Quint. Curt. lib. 4. c. 7 and 8. Justin. lib. 11. c. 11.

* Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. Horat.

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The hatred these people bore to the Persians was fo great, that they valued very little who should be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to rescue them from the insolence and indignity with which themselves, and those who professed their religion, were treated. For, how falle soever a religion may be (and it is scarce possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians) so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not fuffer it to be infulted; nothing affecting their minds fo strongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had caufed their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the Persians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the same mock of that Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and affift him in expelling the Perfians.

This Amyntas had deferted from Alexander, and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus; and, having fled into Syria by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thousand men, he had there seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burnt the rest, and immediately fet fail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelufium, which he took by furprize, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commission from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As foon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made public pretenfions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was, to expel the Persians. Upon this, a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing fo earnestly, as to free themselves from these insurportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; VOL. VI.

when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, they sallied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with

Amyntas their leader flore isda vanponis to grottes

This event, fo far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; fo that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a fecure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this confideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army; and that Darius, his fovereign, was not in a condition to fuccour him, he therefore fet open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred-talents, about one hundred and forty thousand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition, a to rebro slorly still

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy desarts of Libya, and twelve days journey from Memphis. (1) Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya after the flood; and, when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built in his honour in the midst of these desarts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues (m) broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Zin,

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⁽¹⁾ Plin. lib. v. c. 9.

⁽m) Forty furlongs.

Jupiter, * and the Egyptians Ammon. In process of time thefe two names were joined; and he was called

Jupiter-Ammon.

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The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as fons of some deity; and, as he himself was defirous of paffing for an hero, he was determined to have some God for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpose, and began by bribing the priefts, and teaching them the part they were to act. a land wood as to bear odd out

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a defign, which was great in no other circumstances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to affume, as Plutarch observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot fuffer advice, and much less bear opposition; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to confift in impossibility; in a word, which fancies itself able to force, not only enemies, but fortreffes, feafons, and the whole order of nature; the usual effect of a long series of prosperities, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We, ourselves, have seen a samous + conqueror, who boasted his treading in the steps of Alexander, carry further than he had ever done this kind of favage-heroism; and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

(n) Alexander therefore fets out; and, going down from the river Memphis, till he came to the sea, he

(n) A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331.
For this reason the city of Διοσπολις, or the city of Jupiter, Egypt, which the scriptures | call No-Ammon (the city of Ham) or of Ammon, is called by the Greeks

Jerem. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nabum iii. 8.

+ Charles XII. king of Sweden.

coasts it; and, after having passed Canopus, he obferves, opposite to the island of Pharos, a spot he
thought very well situated for the building of a city.
He himself drew the plan of it, and marked out the
several places where the temples and public squares
were to be erected. For the building it, he employed
Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Ephesus, the temple of
Diana, which Herostratus had burnt. This city he
called after his own name, and it afterwards rose to be
the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which
was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one
side, and the Nile and the Red-sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the east and west; and
thereby became, in a very little time, one of the most

flourishing cities in the universe.

Alexander had a journey to go of fixteen hundred stadia, or fourscore French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; and most of the way was through fandy defarts. The foldiers were patient enough for the two first days march, before they arrived in the vast dreadful folitudes; but as soon as they found themfelves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded, as with a fea, they gazed round as far as their fight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive fo much as a fingle tree, nor the least footsteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not fo much as a fingle drop in all that fandy defart. They therefore were reduced to the fad condition of dying almost with thirst; not to mention the danger they were in, of being buried under mountains of fand, that are fometimes raised by the winds; and which had formerly destroyed fifty thousand of Cambyses's troops. Every thing was by this time scorched to so violent a degree, and the air become so hot, that the men could scarcely breathe;

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breathe; when, on a fudden, whether by chance, fay the historians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the fky was so compleatly overspread with thick clouds, that they hid the fun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were still in prodigious want of water. But, the form having discharged itself in a violent rain, every foldier got as much as he wanted; and some had fo violent a thirst, that they stood with their mouths open, and catched the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of these marvellous incidents, with which historians have

thought proper to embellish this relation.

They were several days in croffing these desarts, and, upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standards. These ravens, fometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched flowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, to ferve them as guides, till they, at last, came to the temple of the god. A vastly furprizing circumstance is, that although this oracle be fituated in the midst of an almost boundless folitude, it nevertheless is surrounded with a grove, fo very shady, that the sun-beams can scarce pierce it; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered with feveral springs of fresh water, which preferve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the water, or fountain of the sun. At day-break it is luke-warm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer infenfibly, and at midnight is boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and, from the head to the *navel, resembles a ram. The king being come into

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^{*} This passage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.

the temple, the fenior priest declared him to be the fon of Jupiter; and affured, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last, he enquired whether all his father's murderers had been punished; but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his feat among the deities. Having ended his facrifice, he offered magnificent prefents to the god, and did not forget the priefts, who had been fo faithful to his interest.

Swelled with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and sancying himself raised above the human species, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders and decrees he always wrote in the style following: (0) A-LEXANDER, KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: in answer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonstrance in sew words, by desiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilst Alexander prided himself in these chimeras, and tasted the great pleasure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one decided him in secret; and some, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject slattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the sequel will shew. Not satisfied with endeavouring to pass for the son of a god, and of being persuaded, in case this were possible, that he really was such, he himself would also pass for a god; till at last, Providence having acted that part, of which she was pleased

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⁽⁰⁾ Vario apud A. Gell. 1. 13. c. 4.

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Alexander upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the Palus Mareotis, which is not far from the island of Pharos, made a visit to the new city, part of which was new built. He took the best methods possible to people it, inviting thither all forts of persons, to whom he offered the most advantageous conditions. (p) He drew to it, among others, a considerable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for, he not only lest them the free exercise of their religion and laws, but put them on the same foot in every respect with the Macedonians, whom he settled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he spent the winter.

Varro observes, that at the time this king built A-lexandria, the use of papyrus (for writing) was found in Egypt; but this I shall mention elsewhere.

the affairs of Egypt, suffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutemant, who received orders from himself only; not thinking it safe to entrust the general command of all the troops to one single person, in so large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, be invested one Doloaspes with the whole power of it; note, being desirous that Egypt should still be governed by its antient laws and customs, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they must be samilar, was sitter for that office than any foreigner what-

behalf o hasten the building of his new city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abused his

⁽p) Joseph contra Appian. 110. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 8.

⁽q) Arrian. l. 3. p. 108-

authority, and oppressed the people with the utmost barbarity.

SECT. VIII. Alexander, after his return from Egypt, resolves to go in pursuit of Darius. At his setting out, he hears of the death of that monarch's queen. He causes the several honours to be paid her which were due to her rank. He passes the Euphrates and Tigris, and comes up with Darius. The samous battle of Arbela.

(r) A Lexander having fettled the affairs of Egypt, fet out from thence about spring-time, to march into the east against Darius. In his way thro' Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to fettle fome affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied; and fetting fire to the house in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the fame privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced

towards new conquests.

(s) He was scarce set out, but an eunuch brought word, that Darius's confort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Sysigambis, whom he found bathed in tears,

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⁽r Diod. l. 17. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. 3. p. 111—127. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 9—16. Justin. l. 11. c. 12—14. (s) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

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and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princesses, who also were weeping; and near them the fon of Darius, a child, * who was the more worthy of compassion, as he was less sensible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander consoled them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly shewed that he himself was deeply and sincerely afflicted. He caused her funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who superintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princesses, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his confort's death. The Persian monarch was seized with the most violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he supposed she would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. Butthe eunuch undeceived him on this occasion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always shewn her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing these words, was fired with fuspicions of fo horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aside, he spoke to him as sollows. "If thou dost still acknowledge Darius for thy "lord and sovereign, tell me, by the respect and vemeration thou owest to that great splendor of † Mithres, which enlightens us, and to this hand which
the king stretcheth out to thee; tell me, I say, whether in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do not
bewail the least of her evils; and whether, as she
fell into the hands of a young monarch, she did not
first lose her honour, and afterwards her life."
The eunuch, throwing himself at Darius's feet, besought him not to think so injuriously of Alexander's
virtue; nor dishonour his wife and sister after her

^{*} Ob id ipsum miserabilis, quòd nondum sentiebat calamitatem, maxima ex parte ad ipsum redundantem. Q. Curt.

[†] The Persians worshipped the fun under the name of Mithres, and the moon under that of Mithra.

death; and not deprive himself of the greatest consolation he could possibly have in his missortunes, viz. to be firmly persuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was superior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Persian ladies much stronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Persians themselves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before said, by the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public same related, concerning the wisdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were affembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who pre-" fide over the birth of men, and who dispose of kings " and empires, grant that, after having raifed the fortune of Persia from its dejected state, I may " transmit it to my descendants with the same luftre in which I received it; in order that, after having "triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge "the favours which Alexander has shewn in my ca-" lamity, to persons who, of all others, are most dear to me: or, in case the time ordained by the fates is at last come, or that it must necessarily happen "from the anger of the gods, or the ordinary viciffitudes of human affairs, that the empire of Persia " must end; grant, great gods, that none but Alex-" ander may afcend the throne of Cyrus." of odd

In the mean time, Alexander having fet out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapfacus, where he passed a bridge that lay cross the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tignis, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at last that there was no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle.

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For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Issue, and marched it towards Nineveh: his forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazzus, governor of the province; all who were to prevent A-lexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass: but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the east, this is the most rapid; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but those also drag along great stones; so that it is named Tigris by reason of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being so called in the Persian tongue. Alexander founded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horses bellies, and in the middle to their breafts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half-moon, and posted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the foldiers; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept themselves above water, because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuolity of the stream. Such foldiers as not only carried their arms, but their cloaths also, were much more fatigued; for these being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burdens. At the same time, the great number of cloaths floating up and down, beat away the burdens of feveral; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice,

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voice, to fave nothing but their arms; and affured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses; for not one of them would listen to his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last, they all passed over that part of the ford where the water was shallowest, and the stream less impetuous, recovering however but a small part of

their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might eafily have been cut to pieces, had they been opposed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, who made ever fo little opposition to their passage. But Mazæus, who might eafily have defeated them, had he come up when they were croffing the river in diforder and confusion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle-array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he passed the Granicus, in sight of fo prodigious a multitude of horse and foot, who waited his coming on the shore; and also in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the passes and streights quite open and defenceless, where a small number of troops might have checked his progress. This * circumstance may leffen our furprize at that excess of boldness, which was his peculiar characteristic, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greatest dangers; fince, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to suspect himself guilty of rashness.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his foldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon first lost its light, and appeared afterwards quite sullied, and, as it were, tinctured with blood. Now as this happened just before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful success of which filled the army with sufficient disquietude; they were first struck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards seized with fear, they cried out, "That heaven displayed

^{*} Audaciæ quoque, qua maximè viguit, ratio minui potest; quia nunquam in discrimen venit, an temerè secisset. 2. Curt.

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"the marks of its anger; and that they were dragged, against the will of it, to the extremities of the

earth; that rivers opposed their passage; that the

" ftars refused to lend their usual light; and that they could now see nothing but desarts and solitudes;

"that, merely to fatisfy the ambition of one man, fo many thousands shed their blood; and that for a

" man who contemned his own country, difowned his

" father, and pretended to pass for a god."

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, fummoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded such of the Egyptian foothfayers as were best skilled in the knowledge of the stars, to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon; but, without entering into physical enquiries, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on the fide of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Persians; and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with fome grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned several examples, all which they gave as true and indisputable. Superstition has a furprizing afcendant over the minds of the vulgar. How headstrong and inconstant soever they may be, yet if they are once ftruck with a vain image of religion, they will fooner obey foothfayers than their leaders. The answer made by the Egyptians being dispersed among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called Gordyæi. At day-break the scouts, whom he had sent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and set himself at their head. However, it was afterwards found that they were only a detachment of a thousand horse

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that was going upon discoveries, and which soon retired to the main army. Nevertheless, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but an hundred and fifty * stadia from the place where they then were.

Not long before this, fome letters had been intercepted, by which Darius follicited the Grecian foldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince; as an attempt of that kind; an attempt fo abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in a full affembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians, But Parmenio diffuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake fuch thoughts in the minds of foldiers; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counfel, and ordered his army to march forward, side to

Although Darius had twice fued in vain for peace. and imagined that he had nothing to truft to but his arms; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous circumstances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderness and humility towards his family, he dispatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former propofals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the feveral territories fituate between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer: " Tell your fo-" vereign, that thanks, between perfons who make " war against each other, are superfluous; and that, in case I have behaved with clemency towards his

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" family, it was for my own fake, and not for his; rein consequence of my own inclination, and not to was of please him. To infult the unhappy, is a thing to unme unknown. I do not attack either prisoners or nen " women, and turn my rage against such only as are " armed for the fight. Did Darius fue for peace in a er-"fincere view, I then would debate on what is to be oldone; but fince he still continues, by letters and by an " money, to fpirit up my foldiers to betray me, and ce; nd " my friends to murder me, I therefore am deter-" mined to purfue him with the utmost vigour; and vas for that not as an enemy, but a poisoner and an affassin. 44 It indeed becomes him, to offer to yield up to me 23 what I am already possessed of! Would he be fa-23 tisfied with ranking himfelf as fecond to me, withled out pretending to be my equal, I possibly might then ous "hear him. Tell him, that the world will not perrs; " mit two funs, nor two fovereigns. Let him therend " fore chuse, either to surrender to-day, or fight me or-" to-morrow, and not flatter himself with the hopes n-" of obtaining better fuccess than he has hitherto " had." Darius's propofals are certainly not reasoce, nable; but then, is Alexander's answer much more his fo? In the former we behold a prince, who is not yet tafenfible of his own weakness, or, at least, who cannhis not prevail with himself to own it; and in the latter, we fee a monarch quite intoxicated with his good forho tune, and carrying his pride to fuch an excess of folly, das is not to be parallelled : The world will not permit he two funs, nor two fovereigns. If this be greatness, and d, not pride, I do not know what can ever deserve the nlatter name. The ambaffadors having leave to dehe part, returned back, and told Darius that he must nd now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp 4-0near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumeke la, in a plain at a confiderable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the fpot which he pitched upon it, for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and nis

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cavalry might have full room to move in; recollecting, that that his fighting in the streights of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there. At the same time, he had prepared * crows feet to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and furrounded his camp with trenches and palifades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless foldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he fet out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle-array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having affembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the fame order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he affembled his general officers a fecond time, and told them, that there was no occafion for his making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory; that he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occasion, for Phænicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces,

which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horses feet.

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^{*} Crows feet is an instrument composed of iron spikes. Several of these are laid in fields through

and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a compleat victory. After this second them to take some repose

speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

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It is faid, that Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alledging, that they might easily be deseated, if fallen upon by surprize, and in the dark; but the king answered so loud, that all present might hear him; that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to sight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent answer; for, it was running great hazard, to fall upon so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, searing he should be attacked at unawares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the crifis of affairs used always to confult foothfayers, observing, very exactly, whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting a bat-1 tle, the fuccess of which was to give empire to the conqueror, fent for Aristander, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself up with the foothfayer, to make fome fecret facrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to * Fear, which he doubtless did to prevent his army from being seized with dread, at the fight of the formidable army of Darius. The foothfayer, dreffed in his vestments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first repeated the prayers which the king was to address to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle, which was upon the point of being fought, he could

^{*} We must read in Plutarch Dose instead of Doise.

not fleep immediately. But his body being oppreffed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he flept foundly, the whole night, contrary to his usual custom: fo that when his generals were affembled at daybreak before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly furprized to find he was not awake; upon which, they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and feeming furprized to find him in fo calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake: How could it be possible, faid Alexander, for us not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands? Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks; exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their antient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of a battle, imagine they fee the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared fo calm, fo gay, nor fo refolute. The ferenity and fecurity which they observed in him, were in a manner fo many affurances of the victory. and flyin aid

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but much more so with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at * least of six hundred thousand soot, and sorty thousand horse; and the other of no more than sorty thousand soot, and seven or eight thousand horse; but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; † an empty phantom rather than

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Both fides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry

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on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle s. the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them; and commanded, in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with fcythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the center of the first line. Befides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person; believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army fpread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to furround, and to charge them at one and the fame time, both in front and flank.og it bas whom

of But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged behind, to face about to that fide; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bow-men, slingers, harlers of javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with scythes; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as poltible; but in fuch a manner, as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right. I belook a service and a service

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been shewn the several places where the crows seet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Persians advanced for-

ward

ward in proportion. Darius, being afraid left the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel-about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops further. Then Alexander difpatched against them the body of horse in his service commanded by Menidas; but, as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry *. Besides the advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves, and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed: however, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put them to flight.

Upon this, the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which slew on all sides, frighted the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no

execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his

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^{*} Some relate that the Barbarians gave way at first, but soon returned to the tharge.

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white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been instructed by the king; and, crying that he faw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a fure omen of victory) he shewed, with his finger, the pretended bird to the foldiers; who, relying upon the fincerity of the foothfayer, fancied they also faw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater chearfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas (after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder, upon their advancing to surround his right wing) had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into diforder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both fides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both furrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to fave the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Perfians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and fo abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the center of their Historians relate, that this prince, having drawn his scimitar, reflected, whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: but, perceiving from his chariot that his foldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forfake them; and, as he was divided between hope and

and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, sled with the rest; and the conqueror was now

wholly employed in purfuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, Indian and Parthian horfe, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives faw them arrive in the camp, they armed themfelves with every thing that came first to hand, and, reinforcing their cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the same time, told Sysigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed;) that the whole baggage was plundered, and that she was now going to recover her liberty. But this princefs, who was a woman of great wildom, though this news affected her in the strongest manner, could not easily give credit to it; and, being unwilling to exasperate. by too hasty a joy, a conqueror, who had treated her with fo much humanity, the did not discover the least emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a fingle word; but, in her usual posture, calmly waited till the event should denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the first report of this attack, had dispatched a messenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was exposed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things, said the prince, let him not weaken his main body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply himself wholly to the engagement; for victory will not only restore us our own possessions, but also give those of the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the center of the second line, seeing the enemy were going to make them-

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themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the orders which had been given; and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire; but, as these were horse, the Macedonian soot could not follow them.

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Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank. and began to furround them. Immediately Parmenio fent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his foldiers together. The prince was actually purfuing Darius, and, fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himfelf, that he should absolutely put an end to the war. in case he could but seize his person. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to fuccour his left wing; shuddering, with rage, to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch,

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as foldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obstinate than before; for, the Barbarians marching close in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling-about, according to their usual custom; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy, Alexander lost threescore of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Coenus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however, he triumphed on this occasion, and all the

the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as

forced their way through his fquadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill fuccess of that monarch. though the advantage was entirely on his fide; he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in diforder, fo briskly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that the battle, which before was carried on fo warmly should slacken on a fudden: however, like an able commander, who feizes every advantage, and who employs his utmoft endeavours to inspire his soldiers with fresh vigour, he observed to them, that the terror which spread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory, Upon his exhortations, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horses the rein, and charged the enemy with fo much fury, as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that instant, and, overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which, at least, is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. (s) This en.

(3) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

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about the fame time, two years before, that the battle of Issue was fought. As Gaugamela in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle.

SECT. IX. Alexander possesses himself of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis; and finds immense riches in those cities. In the heat of drinking he sets fire to the palace of Persepolis.

A Lexander's first care, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent facrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded fuch as had fignalized themselves remarkably in battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments and governments. But, being defirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo against the Persians, he gave orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring, that it was his defire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. (u) He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, though fo many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who (whilft war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the rest of

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⁽t) Diod. l. 17. p. 538-540. Artian. l. 3. p. 127-133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685-688. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1-7. Justin. l. 11. c. 14. (u) Herodotus relates this history in very few words, l. 8. c. 47.

The month called by the Greeks Boedromion, answers partly to our would of October.

VOL. VI.

the Greeks that were fettled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone) fitted out a galley at his own expence, and failed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, fays Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; considering himself. fays the fame author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propose them to posterity, as fo many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After croffing it, feveral advised him to break down the bridges, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer, * " That life was not so dear to him, as to make him defire to preferve it by the "destruction of so many thousands of his subjects and faithful allies, who, by that means, would be deli-" vered up to the mercy of the enemy; that they had se as much right to pass over this bridge as their sove reign, and consequently that it ought to be as open " to them." After riding a great number of leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reason of his going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Sufa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory; besides, a numerous army could not purfue him by this road, whereas in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great case; not to mention that the foil was very fruitful. daidw vel boo

A few days after Arbela furrendered to Alexander who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich cloaths, and other precious moves

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bles, with four thousand talents, (about 775000 pounds) and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his fetting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies, which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is seen the celebrated fountain which throws out so vast a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was used as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired most was, a great gulph, whence streamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhauftible fpring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulph. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, viz. its catching fire fo very fuddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that furrounds the flame, and fets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians being defirous of flewing the king the ffrength and fubtilty of this combuffible substance, scattered several drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that ffreet which went up to the house he had chosen for his refidence. After this, going to the other end of the freet, they brought torches near the places where those drops were fallen (for it was night;) and the drops which were nighest the torches taking fire on Midden, the flame ran in an instant to the other end; by which means the whole street seemed in one few days after Arbela furrenoitargalinos Trients

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, furtendered himself, with his children who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleased with his arrival; for he would have

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met with great difficulties in belieging a city of fuch importance, and fo well provided with every thing. Besides his being a person of great quality, and very brave, he had also acquired great honour in the last battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he fet them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient defire they had to fee their new fovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazzus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars which smoaked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the prefents which were to be made the king, viz. herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages, After thefe the magi walked, finging hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians: it was customary for the latter to fing the praises of their king to their instruments; and the Chaldeans to observe the motion of the planets, and the vicissitude of feafons. The rear was brought up by the Babylemish cavalry, which both men and horses were so fumptuous, that imagination can scarce reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after his infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and feated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedon an horseman fix mine, (about fifteen pounds;) to each mercenary horseman esmyma.

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two mina, (about five pounds;) to every Macedonian foot foldier two minæ; and to every one of the rest, two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, pursuant to the advice of the Magi, with whom he had several conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished; and, among others, that of Belus, who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midst of the hurry and tumult of war, still preserved a love for the sciences. He used often to converse with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themselves to the study of astronomy from its origin, and gained great same by their knowledge in it. They presented him with astronomical observations taken by their predecessors during the space of 1903 years, which consequently went as same backward as the age of Nimrod. These were sent by Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aistotle?

one The king refided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the discipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themselves to pleasures, of wolliptuouffiels, and the most infamous excelles; hor did vadies, though of the highest quality, observe any decorum or flow the least referve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, fo far from endeawouring to conceal them, or blushing at their enormity. It must be confessed, that this army of soldiers, which had triumphed over Afia, after having this enervated themselves, and rioted, as it were, in The Hoth and duxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty four days together, would have been scarce able te complete their exploits, had they been opposed by an enemy. But, as they were reinforced from time to time, these irregularities were not so visible; for Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. 2. de Calo.

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Amyntas brought fix thousand foot, and five hundred Macedonian horse, which were sent by Antipater: and fix hundred Thracian horses, with three thousand five hundred foot of the fame nation; befides four thousand mercenaries from Peloponnesus, with near four hundred horses. Of brager year aniward modely

The above-mentioned Amyntas had also brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, fons to noblemen of the highest quality in the country, to serve as his guards. The youths in question waited upon him at table, brought him his horses when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns: and these were the first steps to the highest employments both in the

army and the flate. Que let be bloom brabash a jant

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the foil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But lest indolence should enervate the courage of his foldiers, he proposed prizes for fuch of them as should exert the greatest bravery; and appointed, as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each foldier had given in the former battles; for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, confishing of a thousand men; whence those officers were called Chiliarchi, This was the first time that regiments were composed of fo great a number of foldiers, confisting before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The foldiers ran in crowds to view this illuftrious fight, not only as eye-witnefies of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themselves; because they might perceive, very easily, whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour; e ircumstance, in which soldiers can never be im-

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He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors; for he formed one fingle body of his whole cavalry, without shewing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate; whereas before, the horsemen of every nation used to fight under his own particular standard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's found used to be the fignal for the march; but, as it very frequently could not be well heard, because of the great noise that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a standard should be set up over his tent, which might be feen by his whole army. He also appointed fire to be the fignal in the night-time, and smoke in the dayon doid's todayles ening may

Alexander marched afterwards towards Sufa, where be arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, fent his fon to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands; whether he were prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuse Alexander with the hopes of plunder of The king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaspes, the waters of which are so famous, upon account of their exquisite taste. (x) The kings of Perfia never drank of any other; and, whitherfoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in filver vases. It was here Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing presents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible fwiftness, and twelve elephants which Darius had fent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immense sums

⁽x) Hered. lib. 1. c. 138.

out of the treasury, with fifty thousand * talents of filver in oar and ingots, befides moveables, and a thoufand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions imposed for several centuries upon the common people, from whose sweat and poverty immense revenues were raised. The Perlian monarchs fancied they had amassed them for their children and posterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right use of them; for Alexander seemed to be merely the guardian or trustee of the immense riches which he found hoarded up in Persia; and applied them to no other use than the rewarding of merit ly fine was diffolcafed at thefe gifts

Among other things, there was found + five thoufand quintals of Hermione | purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasuring up there during the space of one hundred and ninety years; notwithstanding which, its beauty and luftre was no ways di-

minished.

confolution to her. Here likewise was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander fent afterwards to Athens, where

they were standing in 1 Arrian's time.

The king being resolved to march into Persia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Sufa, with a garrifon of three thousand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thousand Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Sufiana to Abutites.

* About seven millions five bundred thousand pounds.

+ The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was fold at the rate of an bundred livres a pound, The quintal is an bundred weight of Paris.

and that I never Hermione was a city of Ar-golis, where the helf purple was dyed.

1 What Arrian aferibes bere to Alexander in regard to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is attributed by other bistorians to other princes.

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-lifte eleft Daring's mother and children in Sufa, and Wfilhaving received from Macedonia a great quantity of OH+ purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of Was the country, he prefented them to Syligambis, togeenther with the artificers who had wrought them; for he veat paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as ten-The derly as if the had been his mother. He likewife comfor hey manded the mellengers to tell her, that in case she fancied those stuffs, she might make her grand-children e to d to learn the art of weaving them, by way of amusement; and to give them as prefents to whomsoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears which apfell from her eyes shewed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased at these gifts; the working in wool being confidered by the Persian women as the ouhighest ignominy. Those who carried these presents. the having told the king that Syfigambis was very much the anddiffatisfied, he thought himfelf obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some diconfolation to her, Accordingly, he paid her a vifit, ofmos when he spoke thus? " Mother, the stuff in which hich "swar fee me cleathed, was not only a gift of my ers, Hence I beg ton, "filters, but wrought by their fingers. you to believe, that the custom of my country here " misled me; and do not consider that as an infult, ini de which was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe ap-"Thave not, as yet, done any thing which I knew. th a the interfered with your manners and customs. I was " told, that among the Persians it is a fort of crime idel, not "for a fon to feat himfelf in his mother's presence, "without first obtaining her leave. You are sensible the " how cautious I have always been in this particular; " and that I never fat down, till you had first laid Ar-" your commands upon me to do fo. And every was " time that you was going to fall profrate before me, "I only ask you, whether I would suffer it? As the ere to " highest testimony of the veneration I have for you,

"I always called you by the tender name of mother, M 5

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"tho' this belongs properly to Olympias only, to

" whom I owe my birth."

What I have just now related, may suggest two resections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the same time of the utmost importance.

First, we see to how great a height the Persians (so vain and haughty in other respects) carried the veneration they shewed their parents. The reader, doubtless, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midst of his conquests, and the most exalted pitch to which fortune had raised him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, viz. of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had first advised with his father and mother, and obtained their consent. * History informs us here, that, among the Persians, a son never dared to seat himself before his mother, till he had first obtained her leave; and that to do otherwise was considered as a crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from so excellent an institution?

Secondly, I discover, in the same relation, several valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in antient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful, and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in scripture to this purpose, concerning Rebecca, Rachel, and feveral others. We read in Homer, of princesses drawing themselves water from springs; and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families. + Here the fifters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making cloaths for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia used to fpin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was fovereign of the world, wore, for feveral years together, no other cloaths but what his wife and

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^{*} Scio apud ves, filium in confpectu matris nefas effe confidere, nifi còm illa permifit, 2, Curt.

[†] Mater, hanc vestem, quamindutus sum, fororum non solum donum, sed etiam opus vides. Q. Curt.

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fifter made him. It was a custom in the northern parts of the world, not many years fince, for the princess who then fat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domestic affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women; and for this they were defigned by providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanness and contempt: but then, what has it substituted in the room of the harsh and vigorous exercises which a just education enabled the fex to undertake; to that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A soft indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversations, vain amusements, a strong passion for public shews, and a frantic love of gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgment, and a tafte for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair fex, and of our nation, that feveral ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. also might add, that great numbers of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Sysigambis, who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Pasi-Tigris. * Having crossed it with nine thousand foot and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of the Uxii. This region lies near Susa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia; a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madathes commanded this province.

[#] This river differs from the Tigris.

* This man was not a time-ferner non a follower of fortune; but, faithful to his fovereign he refolved to hold out to the last extremity; and, for this purpose, had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the befieged fent thirty deputies to Alexander, to fue for quarter; which they obtained, at last, by the intercession of Sysigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges; would not fuffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Syfigambis have possibly obtained more from her own fon on this occasion, had he been the victor? her, and which were to

The Uxii being subdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; whilft himself, at the head of his light-armed troops, crossed the mountains, which extend as far as Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the pals of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse, had taken possession of those rocks which are craggy on all fides, and posted the Barbarians at the fummit, out of the reach of arrows. He also had built a wall in those passes, and encamped his forces under it. As foon as Alexander advanced in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, stones of a prodigious size, which falling from rock to rock, rushed forward with the greater violence, and at once crushed to pieces whole bands of foldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this fight, commanded a retreat to be found ed; and it was with the utmost grief he faw himself

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^{*} Haud sane temporum homo : quippe ultima pro side experiri decreverat. 2. Curt.

nde only flope at this pais, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it. and or landist and a function

Whilst he was revolving these gloomy thoughts, a Grecian prisoner, surrendered himself to Alexander, with a promise to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the superintendance of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, befides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks to flippery, that their feet would scarce stand upon them; the foldiers were also very much diffreffed by the fnows which the winds had brought together, and which were so high, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and, when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themselves would likewise fink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide, whose fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, fword in hand, at a time when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means, the cries of the dying on one fide, and on the other the fright of those who were flying to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without firiking a blow. At this noise Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and feized the pass, which till then had refisted his attacks; and at the fame time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Coenus and Polysperchon, and broke quite

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quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every fide. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who sed fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped by slying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune. which constantly attended him in all his undertakings having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was fo lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was intrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the hafte imaginable to feize them himfelf : that he had only the * Araxes to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harraffed by the length and fwiftness of this march. and passed the Araxes, on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inslict. The hands of some had been cut off, the seet of others; and others again had lost their noses and ears: after which, having impressed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as so many laughing-stocks, with which they sported perpetually. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and, as they una-

^{*} This is not the same river with that in Armenia.

nimously belought him to commiserate their condi-

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tion, he bid them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond, and affured them, that they should again fee their wives and country. This proposal, which one might suppose should naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions arifing on that occasion. " How will it be possible. a faid some of them, for us to appear publickly beof fore all Greece, in the dreadful condition to which "we are reduced; a condition still more shameful " than dissatisfactory? The best way to bear misery. is to conceal it; and no country is fo fweet to the wretched, as folitude, and an oblivion of their paft calamities. Befides, how will it be possible for us to undertake so long a journey? Driven to a great " distance from Europe, banished to the most remote parts of the east, worn out with age, and most of our limbs maimed; can we pretend to undergo fatigues, which have even wearied a triumphant army? The only thing that now remains for us. is to hide our mifery, and to end our days among thole, who are already fo accustomed to our mis-" fortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguished all other sentiments, represented, That the gods offered them what they should not weven have dared to wish, viz. their country, their wives, their children, and all those things for whose " fake men are fond of life, and despise death. That they had long enough born the fad yoke of flavery; and that nothing happier could prefent itself, than "their being indulged the blifs of going at last to " breathe their native air, to resume their antient man-" ners, laws and facrifices, and to die in prefence of "their wives and children." day shoot and gual va

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they befought the king to permit them to continue in a country, where they had spent so many years. He granted their request, and presented each

cleaths, and the same number for women two countries of every kinds. Such behaviour as this was indeed, impossible for Alexander to restore them the limbs, of which the Persians had so cruelly deprived them; but then he restored them to liberty, transposed them; but then he restored them to liberty, transposed them; but then he restored them to liberty, transposed them; but then he restored them to liberty, transposed them; and abundance. Thrice bappy those princes, who are affected with the pleasure which arises from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunated approved them.

Alexander, having called together, then next day the generals of his army, represented to them, if That " no city in the world had ever been more fatal to the "Greeks than Persepolis, the antient residence of "the Persian monarchs, and the capital of their emul of pire. For that it was from thence all those mighty " armies poured, which had overflowed Greece : and " whence Darius, and afterwards Kerxes, had car-" ried the firebrand of the most accurred war, which " had laid waste all Europe; and therefore, that it was incumbent on them to revenge the manes of "their ancestors." It was already abandoned by the Persians, who all fled separately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the vice torious foldiers foon met with riches sufficient to satiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all those who fill remained in the city. However, the king foon put an end to the maffacre, and published an order, by which his foldiers were forbid to violate the chaftity of the women. Alexander had before posses felfed himself, either by force or capitulation, wof at w great number of incredibly rich cities ; but wall this in was a trifle compared to the treasures he found here, The Barbarians had laid up at Persepolis, as in a store.

* About one bundred fifty pounds.

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house, all the wealth of Persia. Gold and silver were never seen here but in heaps; not to mention the cleaths and furniture of inestimable value; for this was the seat of luxury. There was found in the treasury one hundred and twenty thousand talents*, which were designed to desray the expence of the war. To this prodigious sum he added † six thousand talents, taken from Pasagarda. This was a city which Cyprus had built, wherein the kings of Persia used to be crowned.

During Alexander's stay in Perfepolis, a little before he fet out upon his march against Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the guests drank to excess. Among the women, who were admitted to it mask'd, was Thais the courtezan, a native of Attica; and at that time mistress to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feast, during which she had studiously endeavoured to praise the king in the most artful and delicate manner (a stratagem too often practised by women of that character) she said, with a gay tone of voice, SaT hat it would be matter of inexpressible joy " to her, were she permitted (masked as she then was, " and in order to end this festival nobly) to burn the " magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burnt "Athens; and fet it on fire with her own hand, in " order that it might be faid in all parts of the world, that the women, who had followed Alexander in his "expedition to Alia, had taken much better vengeance " of the Perfians, for the many calamities they had "brought upon the Grecians, than all the generals " who had fought for them both by fea and land." All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king role from table (his head being crowned with flowers) and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud accla-

About eighteen millions sterling. + About nine hundred thousand

mations, and afterwards, finging and dancing, they furround the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians at this noise, ran in crouds with lighted tapers, and fet fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was forry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great fuccesses increased this beneficent disposition; and he accompanied the prefents he made with fuch tellimonies of humanity and kindness, and so obliging a carriage, as very much inhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner towards the fifty Macedonian young lords, who ferved under him as guards, Olympias, his mother, thinking him too profuse wrote to him as follows: "I don't blame you, faid the, for being beneficent towards your friends, for that is acting like a king: but then a medium ought " to be observed in your magnificence. You equal them all with kings, and by heaping riches on them, you give them an opportunity of making a " great number of friends, of all whom you deprive "yourfelf." As the often wrote the fame advice to him, he always kept her letters very fecret, and did not shew them to any person; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæstion drew near to him, and read it over his shoulder, which the king observing, did not offern to hinder him; but taking only his ring from his finger, he put the feal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read by

He used to send magnificent presents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She used frequently to make very fevere complaints upon that accounty but he always fubmitted to her ill humour with great mild ness and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter against her, the king, after reading it, replied, Antipater does not know that one single tear shed !

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a mother, will obliterate ten thousand such letters as this. A behaviour like this, and such an answer, shew at one and the same time, that Alexander was both a kind son and an able politician; and that he was persectly sensible how dangerous it would have been, had he invested a woman of Olympias's character with the supreme authority.

SECT. X. Darius leaves Echatana. He is betrayed, and put in chains by Bessus governor of Bactria. The latter, upon Alexander's advancing towards him, slies, after having covered Darius with wounds, who expires a few moments before Alexander's arrival. He sends his corpse to Sysigambis.

(r) Lexander, after he had taken Persepolis and Pafagarda, was refolved to pursue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained flill with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand' Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides' these he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them; then affembling his principal officers, he spoke to them as follows: Dear companions, among fo many thou-"sland men who composed my army, you only have "not abandoned me during the whole course of my "bill fortune; and in a little time, nothing but your " fidelity and constancy will be able to make me fancy "myfelf a king. Deferters and traitors now govern "in my cities; not that they are thought worthy of "the honour bestowed on them, but rewards are gi-"wen them only in the view of tempting you, and to "stagger your perseverance. You still chose to fol-

⁽y) Diod. l. 17. p. 540—546. Arrian. l. 3. p. 133—137. Plutarth. in Alex. p. 689. Q. Curt. l. 5. c. 8—14. Justin. l. 11.

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tow my fortune rather than that of the conqueror. for which you certainly have merited a recompence " from the gods; and I do not doubt but they will prove beneficent towards you, in case that power is denied me. With fuch foldiers and officers I would the brave, without the least dread, the enemy, how formidable foever he may be. What! would any one have me furrender myfelf up to the mercy of the conqueror, and expect from him, as a reward of my baseness and meanness of spirit, the government of some province which he may condescend to leave me? No-It never shall be in the power of any man, either to take away, or fix upon my head the diadem I wear; the fame hour thall put a period to my reign, and life. If you have all the " fame courage and resolution, which I can no ways odoubt, I affure myfelf that you shall retain your 16 liberty, and not be exposed to the pride and infults of the Macedonians. You have in your hands the means either to revenge or terminate all your evil." Having ended this speech, the whole body of foldier replied with shouts, that they were ready to follow him whitherfoever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence. and aurial and Such was the refolution of the foldiery; but Nasar

zanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse had conspired with Bestus, general of the Bactrians to commit the blacked of all crimes and that was, to feize upon the perfort of the king and lay him in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of foldiers under his command. Their defign was, if Alexander should purfue them, to fecure themselves, by giving up Da rius alive into his hands; and, in cafe they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards after his crown and begin a new war. These traitors foon wen over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would foon be crushed under the ruins of an empire which was just :00001 ready

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ready to fall; at the fame time that Bactrians was open to them, and offered them immense riches Though these practices were carried on very secretly. they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and therefore made this anfwer: "That it would be a less affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn them. That he would fuffer the worst of evils amidst those of his own nation, rather than feek for fecurity among frangers, how faithful and affectionate foever he might believe them : and that he could not but die too late, in case the Persian soldiers thought him " unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counsel; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour as he was a king, and then laying him in a cowered chariot, they fet out towards Bactriana. Alexander being arrived at Echatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to (2) Strabo. these treasures amounted to an hundred and eighty thousand talents (about twenty-feven millions fter-

ling 1) and, acording to (a) Justin, to ten talents

more, (about fifteen hundred thousand pounds.) He

by the country of the Cadufians, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who sayed behind in Susa, where he fell sick, that as soon

the was arrived at Echatana, he should take the (z) Strab. 1, 15. p. 741. (a) Justin. 1, 12. c. 1.

forces which were left in that city; and come to him in Parthian a soul refer to the transfer of the result of the soul state of the soul

Alexander, with the rest of his army, purfued Da. rius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caspian streights; but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander now despairing to overtake him, what dispatch soever he might make, flaid there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caspian streights, and pasfed them the next. News was foon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Bessus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the furer of his person; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a foul base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a fresh motive for him to hasten his march, The Barbarians, at his arrival, were feized with dread, though the match would not have been equal, had Beffus been as resolute for fighting as for putting in execution the detestable act above mentioned; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all-powerful in war) filled them with fuch prodigious terror, that they all fled. Beffus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requested him to mount his horse and fly from the enemy: but he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had fuffered; and befeeching Alexander to do him justice, he refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into such a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid

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^{*} This is the city mentioned in Tobit, iii. 7.

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erime, they separated, in order to leave different foorfleps of their flight, and thereby elude the pursuit of the enemy, in case he should follow them; or at least oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyreania, and Bessus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horfemen; and, as the Barbarians were by this means destitute of leaders. they dispersed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their Rops. The said Planton had many part of

After fearthing about in different places, Darius was at last found in a folitude, his body run through with focars, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had firength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystratus by name, brought him. He had a Perfian prisoner. whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and faid: "That in the deplorable " state to which he was reduced, he however should Mhave the comfort to fpeak to one who could under-Mand him, and that his last words would not be 1 loft He therefore charged him to tell Alexander. that he died in his debt, though he had never obbliged him. That he gave him a multitude of thanks for the great humanity he had exercised tothe wards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose " lives he had not only spared, but restored them to 16 their former splendor. That he befought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch fof the universe. That he thought he need not intreat him to revenge the execrable murder comsimitted on his person, as this was the common cause he replied, that the gods wasgnished to

xAfter this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give 6 him, faid he, thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able " to give of my gratitude and affection." Saying these words, he breathed his last. Alexander coming up a moment after, and feeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; crime,

bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies of affect on that could be given him, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then caufing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he fent it to Syfigambis. in order that it might be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and be

entombed with his ancestors.

(b) Thus died Darius, the third year of the CXIIth Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, fix of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacific prince; his reign having been unfullied with injustice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwife, from the perpetual war he had carried on against Alexander all the time he had fat upon the throne. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed two hundred and nine years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the great I the founder of it) under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyfes, Smerdis Magus, Darius fon of Hystaspis, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II, Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arfes, Darius Codomanus.

SICT. XI. Vices which first caused the declension, and at last the ruin of the Persian empire.

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very justly be confidered as the zera, but not as the fole cause of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When we take a general view of the history of the kings above mentioned, and confider with fome attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we eafily perceive that this declenfion was prepared at a great distance, and carthe I and unio ners labor devo The rus 1 ways port vente after ness magr Perfia

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We may declare at first fight, that the declension of the Persian empire, and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, foftness and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and fimplicity which Cyrus had fet them; and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain fo many victories, and fupport themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time. But, after those nations had subjected all things, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, foon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing tafte of the two nations.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poisoned cup, and inchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to soment and cherish delights with art and delicacy: and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world, being at the entire disposal of new sovereigns, they thereby were enable to satiate all their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the consequence of it; and prepared men's minds by the splendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conquests; and when he shewed himself in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and oftentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He began, by inspiring them with an admiration for pomp and shew, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits, Vol. VI.

and the end and fruit of them: and by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they saw so highly esteemed by a most accomplished prince, his example authorized them to abandon themselves to that

gust without reserve.

He also spread this evil, by his obliging judges, officers and governors of provinces, to appear in splendor before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside: and on the other side, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of

life endeavoured to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorised publickly, soon destroyed the antient virtue of the Persians. They did not fink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen, and often opposed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there rose up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer discoursed of that manly, that severe education which was bestowed on the Persian youth; of those public schools of sobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these there did not remain the smallest traces: their young men being brought up in splendor and effeminacy, which they now faw was had in honour, immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the space of one generation, an entire new fet of people, whole manners, inclinations and maxims were directly oppofite to those of antient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people,

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people, were the most abandoned to splendor, luxury, feathing, and even to drunkenness: So that we may affirm, that the empire of the Persians was almost at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its destruction in its own bosom,

and this internal vice increased every reign.

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After the unfuccessful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes against Scythia and Greece, the princes their fuccessors became insensible to the ambition of making conquests, and gave themselves up a prey to idleness and effeminacy: they grew careless of military discipline, and substituted in the place of regular foldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confused multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their respective countries. The reader may have observed on more than one occasion, that the whole strength, and almost the only resource of the Persian army, lay in the Greeks in their service; that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppose them to the best troops of the enemy: they were the only soldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last; and we have feen that Memnon the Rhodian was the fole great general who fought against Alexander.

Instead of chusing for the command of their forces. officers of skill and experience, they used to appoint persons of the greatest quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were distinguished by nothing but the sumptuousness of their feasts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever furrounded, of guards, domestics, eunuchs and women; such an affemblage, formed merely for vain fhew and oftentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbred an army (already but too numerous) with useless soldiers, made it flow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of N 2

fublishing long in a country, and of compleating great

enterprizes in fight of an enemy.

The Persian monarchs shutting themselves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themselves to pleasures; and appearing seldom abroad, placed their whole considence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to slaves, and to flattering courtiers whose sole thoughts and endeavours were to banish true merit, which was offensive to them; to give the rewards appointed for services to their own creatures, and to entrust the greatest employments of the state to persons devoted to their interested and ambitious views, rather than to such whose abilities rende-

red them capable of ferving their country.

Another character of these princes, which is but too frequent in that high fphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accustomed from their infancy to have their ears foothed with false praises, and the most extravagant compliments, and to have a blind submission paid to their will. They were educated in fo exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as perfuaded them that the rest of men were formed merely to serve them, and administer to their They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wife and good government; the principles by which men judge of folid merit, and are capable of chusing persons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raised to sovereign power, merely to protect their subjects and make They were not made sensible of the exthem happy. guisite pleasure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his subjects, and the public source of the felicity of fo vast an empire; as Cyrus the Great had been, who was fo dear to his people, that every individual family confidered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to confift in making himself feared, and in his being able to gratify all his passions with impunity.

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So ill-judged an education must necessarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to fustain the weight of fo mighty an empire, nor to grasp the several parts of so extensive and painful an administration. Idleness, and a love for pleasure, made them careless, and averse to business of every kind; and they facrificed matters of the highest importance to their vain amusements. Some of them were born with fuch happy dispositions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themselves to the allurements of a too despotic power, and an over-great prosperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of listening, in their councils, to any expression delivered with freedom, or of suffering the least opposition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their fubjeds, fince their whole study was to aggrandize themfelves, and to facrifice all confiderations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domestics and subjects; and did not find any where a fincere affection, nor a real attachment to his person and interest. The dazzling splendor of the Persian monarchy concealed a real weakness; and this unweildy power, heightened by fo much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; fo that this coloffus, at the very first blow, fell

SECT. XII. Lacedæmonia revolts from the Macedonians, with almost all Peloponnesus. Antipater marches out upon this occasion, defeats the enemy in a battle, in which Agis is killed. Alexander marches against Bessus. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit him from a far country. Alexander, at his return from Parthia, abandons himself to pleasure and excess. He continues his march towards Bessus. A pretended conspiracy of Philotas against the king. He, N. 3.

BYSBI

and Parmenio his father, are put to death. Alexander subdues several nations. He at last arrives in Bastriana, whether Bessus is brought to him.

(e) WHILST things passed in Asia, as we have feen, some tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had fent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that fide; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almost all Peloponnesus in their design. Upon this news, Antipater, after having fettled to the best of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmost expedition into Greece, whence he immediately dispatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of these several transactions. As soon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he resolved to venture a battle. The Macedonian army confifted of no more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the superiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow spot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to fignalize themselves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their respective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their pristine glory, and the other animated by their present greatness, sought with equal courage, the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the spot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains, after which, extending his whole army, he gained the superiority, and made a proper use of his advantage. Agis was distinguished by his fuit of armour, his noble mein, and still more

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⁽c) A. M. 3675, Ant. J. C. 329. Diod. l. 17. p. 537. Q. Curt. 1, 6. c. 1.

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To by his valour. The battle was hottest round his person, and he himself persormed the most astonishing acts of bravery. At last, after having been wounded in several parts of his body, his foldiers laying him upon his shield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their courage, for having feized an advantageous post where they kept close in their ranks, they relisted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withstood them a long time, the Lacedemonians began to give ground, being scarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with fweat; they afterwards retired very fast, and at last ran quite away. The king, feeing himself closely pursued, still made some efforts, notwithstanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppose the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the last, oppressed by numbers, he died fword in hand.

In this engagement, upwards of three thousand Lacedemonians lost their lives, and a thousand Macedomians at most; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but also the hopes of those who only waited the iffue of this war, to declare them-Antipater immediately fent the news of this fuccess to Alexander: but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the most modest and circumspect terms; in such as were best adapted to diminish the lustre of a victory which might expose him to envy. He was fenfible, that Alexander's delicacy, with regard to honour, was fo very great, that he looked upon the glory which another person obtained, as a diminution of his own. And * indeed, he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop some words which discovered his jealousy. pater did not dare to dispose of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedemonians

^{*} Alexander hostes vinci voluerat; Antipatrum vicisse, ne tacilus quidem indignabatur suædemp-

tum gloriæ existimans, quicquid cessisset alienæ. 2: Curt.

leave to fend an embassy to the king, in order that they themselves might tell him the ill success they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, fome of those who had occasioned the revolt excepted, and these he

be musted with glory behind

(d) Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from pursuing Bessus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had affumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at last that it would be impossible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and resting his troops some days in Hecatompylos, commanded provisions of all forts to be brought thither.

During his stay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conquests he had atchieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very instant the foldiers, as if a fignal had been made for their fetting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmost dispatch, and fill the whole camp with noise and tumult. Alexander was foon informed of this, when terrified at the disorder, he summoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midst of fo glorious a career, he was stopped on a sudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by representing, that this fudden motion was a meer fally, and a transient gust of passion, which would not be attended with any ill consequences; and affured him, that the foldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would address himself to them in tender expressions. He promised to do it. The circumstance which had given occasion to this false report, was, his having disbanded some Grecian foldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; fo that the Macedonians imagined they also were to fight no more.

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⁽d) Q. Curt. lib. 6. cap. 2-4.

Alexander having summoned the army, made the

following speech. "I am not surprized, O foldiers,

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formed, you should be satiated with glory, and have " no other views but ease and repose. I will not now " enumerate the various nations we have conquered. "We have subdued more provinces than others have cities. Could I perfuade my felf, that our con-" quests are well secured, over nations who were so foon overcome, I would think as you do (for I wont " diffemble my thoughts) and would make all the " haste imaginable to revisit my houshold gods, my mother, my fifters, and my subjects; and enjoy " in the midst of my country the glory I have ac-" quired in concert with you. But this glory will all " vanish very soon, if we do not put the last hand to " the work. Do you imagine, that so many nations, " accustomed to other fovereigns, and who have no manner of fimilitude to us either in their religion, " manners or language, were entirely subdued the " moment they were conquered; and that they will of not take up arms, in case we return back with so " much precipitation? What will become of the reft who still remain unconquered? How! shall we " leave our victory imperfect, merely from want of courage! But that which touches me much more; " shall we fuffer the detestable crime of Bessus to go " unpunished? Can you bear to see the scepter of Da-" rius in the fanguinary hands of that monster, who, " after having loaded him with chains, as a captive, " at last affassinated his sovereign, in order to deprive " us of the glory of faving him? As for my felf, I " hall not be easy till I see that infamous wretch " hanging on a gibbet, there to pay to all kings and " nations of the earth, the just punishment due to his " execrable crime. I do not know whether I am " mistaken; but methinks I read his sentence of death " in your countenances; and that the anger which N 5 66 fparkles

" sparkles in your eyes, declares, you will soon im-

brue your hands in that traitor's blood."

The foldiers would not fuffer Alexander to proceed: but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the speeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how desponding a condition soever they might be, one fingle word from him revived their courage in an instant, and inspired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable disposition of the whole army, crossed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mardi, the Arii, the Dranga, the Arachofii, and feveral other nations, into which his army marched, with greater fpeed than people generally travel. He frequently would purfue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great diftance, and fubdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet shadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by reprefenting him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who rushed forward with so much fwiftness, that his feet seemed not to touch the ground.

(e) Nabarzanes, one of Bessus's accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and surrendered himself, upon promise of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other presents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an ascendant over Alexander, as before over Darius.

At the fame time arrived Thalestris, queen of the Amazons. A violent desire of seeing Alexander, had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify

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her curiofity. Being come pretty near his camp, the fent word that a queen was come to vifit him; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable answer, she commanded her train to ftop, and her felf came forward with three hundred women; and the moment she perceived the king, the leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. The dress the Amazons used to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their bosom being uncovered on the left fide, every other part of their body was hid; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and fo descended no farther than the knee. They preserved their right breast to suckle their semale offspring, but used to burn the left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called * Amazons.

Thalestris † looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his same; for the Barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty atchievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey, was to have posterity by him; adding, that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place; after which Thalestris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This story, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by some very judicious authors, as en-

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* This is a Greek word, fignifying, without breafts.

† Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est. 2. Curt. lib. 6. cap. 5.

(e) Alexander devoted himself afterwards wholly to his passions, changing into pride and debauch, the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been fo greatly admired; virtues fo very necessary in an exalted station of life, and in the midst of a feries of prosperities. He now was no longer the same man, Though he was invincible with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwife with respect to the charms of ease. The instant he enjoyed a little repose, he abandoned himself to sensuality; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, sell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be feen but games, parties of pleafures, women, and exceffive feafting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not fatisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece; he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to fing fongs after the manner of their country. He happened among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in publick. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to con-The king foon imagined by her air and ceal her face. mein that she was not of vulgar birth; and enquiring himself into it, the lady answered, that she was granddaughter to Ochus, who not long before had fwayed the Persian scepter, and daughter of his son; that she had married Hystaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princefs of the blood royal, and the fad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions; and caused her husband to be fought for, in order that she might be re flored to him.

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⁽e) Q. Curt. lib. 6. cap. 6.

This prince was naturally of fo tender and humane a disposition, as made him sensible of the affliction of persons in the lowest condition. (f) A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's use; the beaft being so tired that he was not able either to go on or fuffain the loads. the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a confiderable way. Alexander feeing him just finking under his burthen, and going to throw it on the ground in order to ease himself, cried out, Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own. Had at mistive

(g) Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a small body of horse, when he pursued Darius, met some Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-skins upon mules. These Macedonians perceiving their prince was almost parched with thirst, occasioned by the raging heat (the fun being then at the meridian) immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to prefent him with it: Alexander asking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, We were going to carry it to our children; but do not let your majesty be uneasy, for if your life is but faved we shall get children enough, in case we should lose these. At these words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he faw all his horsemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earnestly on the liquor he held, swallow it, as it were, with their glances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to those who had offered it him, and did not drink so much as a single drop, but cried, There is not enough for my whole company; and should I drink alone, it would make the rest be thirstier, and they will quite die away. The officers, who were on horseback round him, struck in the most sensible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, intreated him, with shouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not spare them in any manner; that now they

(g) Plut. in Alex. p. 687. (f) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

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were not in the least tired, nor felt the least thirst : and that as long as they should be commanded by such a king, they could not think themselves mortal men.

Such fentiments as thefe, which arise from a generous and tender disposition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greatest victories and conquests. Had Alexander always cherished them, he would justly have merited the title of Great; but a too glorious and uninterrupted feries of prosperity, which is too heavy for mortals to fustain, insensibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man: For now, contemning the customs of his own country, as no longer worthy the fovereign of the universe, he laid aside the dress, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and fimple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went fo far, as to imitate the pomp of the Persian kings, in that very circumstance in which they seemed to equal themselves to the gods; I mean, by requiring those who had conquered nations to fall prostrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only flaves. He had turned his palace into a feraglio, filling it with three hundred and fixty concubines, (the same number as Darius kept) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the most infamous. Not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification, not one of them however daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran foldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of fenfuality, inveighed publickly against this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learnt in Sufa and Ec-The foldiers would frequently express themfelves in the following terms: " That they had lost or more by victory than they had gained: that as the

Macedonians had thus affumed the manners and

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customs of foreigners, they might properly be faid to be conquered. That therefore the only benefit they should reep from their long absence, would be, to return back into their country in the habit of Barbarians; that Alexander was assamed of, and despised them; that he chose to resemble the vanquished rather than the victorious; and that he, who before had been king of Macedonia, was now

" become one of Darius's lieutenants."

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The king was not ignorant of the discontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the esteem and friendship of both by his beneficence: But * flavery, though purchased at ever fo high a rate, must necessarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the fafest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But, as the army was encumbered with booty and a useless train of baggage, that it could scarce move, he first caused all his own bag. gage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of his army (fuch things excepted as were abfolutely necessary;) then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but, after he had fent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burnt the rich spoils they had purchased with their blood, and often forced out of the midst of the flames. Such a facrifice must certainly have been made with the utmost reluctance; but the example the king fet them filenced all their complaints, and they feemed less affected at the loss of their baggage, than at their neglect of military discipline. A short speech the king made, foothed all their uneafiness; and, being now more able to exert themselves hereafter, they set out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this

[•] Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. Q. Curt.

march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one except Alexander; but nothing could daunt his foul, or check his progress; for he put the strongest confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forsook that hero, but extricated him from a thousand perils, wherein one would have naturally supposed both himself and his army must have

perished.

(h) Being arrived among the Drange, a danger to which he had not been accustomed, gave him very great uneafiness; and this was, the report of a conspiracy that was formed against his person. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treason; and the motive of it was, some private difgust which he had received. He had communicated his execrable defign to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus his brother. The latter immediately whispered it to Philotas, earnestly intreating him to acquaint the king with it, because every moment was of the utmost consequence, and that the conspirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and discoursed on a great variety of subjects, but without taking the least notice of the plot. the evening, Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and asking whether he had done as requested, he answered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majesty, and went away. next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be fure not to forget it; and however did not perform his promise. This made Cebalinus suspect him; and fearing, that in case the confpiracy should be discovered by another person, his silence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore

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⁽b) Diod. l. 17. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. 6. c. 7, 11. & 1.7. c. 1, 2.—Arrian. l. 3. p. 141, 142.—Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

got another person to disclose it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus him. felf, and told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, first commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter gueffing upon what account he was fent for by the king, ran himfelf through with his fword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from compleating the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king asked him, why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was, of the kingdom of Macedon; but he was quite speechles; so that after fetching a deep figh, he turned his head

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The king afterwards fent for Philotas, and speaking to him (having first commanded every one to withdraw) he asked, whether Cebalinus had really urged him feveral times to tell him of a plot which was earrying on against him. Philotas, without discovering the least confusion in his countenance, confessed ingenuously that he had; but made his apology, by faying, that the person who had whispered this, did not appear to him worthy of the least credit. He confesfed however, that Dymnus's death plainly shewed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing fo long a defign of fo black a nature: upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; which he embraced, and befought him to confider his past life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad defign, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unfeafonably, the king, should he communicate a defign, which he really fupposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to fay, whether Alexander believed what Philotas faid, or only diffembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possi-

ble.

ble it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed, by an air of sweetness and humanity; he feemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing fo much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a filly pride, which generally difplayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more fo, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio his father, difgusted at his lofty behaviour, said one day to him, * My fon, make thyfelf lefs. The strongest sense is couched under these words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot perfuade themselves, that savour which is established on so seemingly solid a soundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to " fon's life to the king's clemency Some.worrol aid

(i) His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter just reason to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of the king, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigona by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, his father's services and his own: "What would Philip, said he, have been, had "it not been for Parmenio? and what would Alex-" ander be, were it not for Philotas? what would be-" come of his pretended divinity, and his father "Ammon, should we undertake to expose this siction"? All these things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigona herself made oath, that such words had been spoke. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of

which she ever he fo much phæstion. But the

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⁽i) Plut. de fortun. Alex. c. 2. p. 339.

[•] Ω παῖ, χείρων μοὶ γίνα.

all this, nor fo much as once let drop the least word which shewed his resentment upon that occasion whenever he was most intoxicated with liquor; he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, not even to Hephæstion, from whom he scarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the conversation he had with Philotas, he held a council, composed of his chief confidents. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great esteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occasion for supplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred under a specious pretence of zeal, he suggested to the king, "The apprehensions he might justly be under, "both from Philotas himself, because mercy is not apt " to work any change in a heart, which could be "corrupt enough to entertain so detestable a crime; "and from Parmenio his father, who, faid he, will "never be able to bear the thoughts of his owing his " fon's life to the king's clemency. Some benefici-"al acts are fo great, that they become a burden to "those on whom they are conferred, for which rea-" fon they do all in their power to erafe them from "their memory. And farther, who can affure us, "that both father and fon are not engaged in the "conspiracy? When a prince's life is in danger, every "thing is of importance; and all things, even to the "flightest suspicions, are so many proofs. Can we "conceive it possible, that a favourite, on whom his "fovereign has bestowed the most shining marks of "his beneficence, should be calm and undisturbed "upon his being told an affair of fuch mighty im-"portance? But we are told, that this defign was "communicated by young people, who deferved very " little credit. Wherefore then did he keep them in " fuspence two days, as if he really believed what " they told him, and still promifed them that he would

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reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does not see, that he did this merely to prevent their having access by another way to his majesty? Sir, continued he, it is necessary, for your own sake and that of the state, for us to put Philotas to the torture; in order to force from his own mouth an account of this plot, and the several persons who are his accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king came into it. He then dismissed the assembly, having first enjoined them secrecy; and the better to conceal his resolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to supper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necesfary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep fleep; when flarting from his flumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, Alas! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness. After this, they coveted his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a fingle word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an order published for that purpose, came thither under arms, being about fix thousand. It was a very antient custom for the army, in war-time, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do fo; fo that the prince had no power on these occasions, unless a fanction were given to it by the consent of one of these bodies; and the king was forced to have recourse to * persuasion, before he employed his authority.

First, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then present knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the assembly; an air of sorrow appearing in

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his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waiting for the issue of this gloomy scene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes cast on the ground; but at laft, having recovered his spirits, he made the following speech, " I narrowly escaped, O " foldiers, being torn from you, by the treachery of " a small number of wretches; but, by the provi-" dence and mercy of the gods, I now again appear " before you, alive: and I protest to you, that nothing " encourages me more to proceed against the traitors, " than the fight of this affembly, whose lives are " much dearer to me than my own; for I defire to " live for your fakes only; and the greatest happiness " I should find in living (not to fay the only one) would be, the pleasure I shall receive, in having it " once in my power to reward the fervices of fo many " brave men, to whom I owe all things." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the foldiers, who all burst into tears. "Alas! how will you be-" have, when I shall name the persons who formed " fo execrable an attempt? I my felf cannot think of it without shuddering. They, on whom I have "been most lavish of my kindnesses; on whom I " had bestowed the greatest marks of friendship; in "whom I had put my whole confidence, and in " whose breasts I lodged my greatest secrets-Par-" menio and Philotas." At these names, all the soldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor any thing they faw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus were fent for, who made the feveral depositions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole affembly, being feized with a trouble and confusion easier conceived than expressed, continued in a sad and gloomy silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse, worn-out piece of cloth. How shocking a fight was this! Lost to himself, he did not dare to look up, or open his

lips;

lips; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the standers-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed; recovering his spirits and his voice, by infenfible degrees, he feemed desirous of speaking. The king then told him, that he should be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have justified himself very easily; for not one of the witnesses, and those who had been put on the rack, had accused him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dym. nus, who first formed it, had not named him to any of the conspirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the rest, in order to engage them the more strongly, Had Philotas been conscious to himself of guilt in this particular, as he was fensible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, fought earnestly to acquaint the king of it, is it any ways probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to dispatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark defign in execution? which he might very eafily have done. Philotas fet these proofs, and a great many more, in the strongest light; and did not omit to mention the reasons which had made him despise the information that had been given him, as groundless and imaginary. Then directing, on a fudden, himself to Alexander, as if he had been prefent, "O king, fays he, where-" foever you may be," (for it is thought Alexander heard all that past from behind a curtain) " if I have " committed a fault in not acquainting you with what "I heard, I confessed it to you, and you pardoned " me. You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of "this; and you did me the honour to admit me at " your table. If you believed me, I am innocent; " if you pardoned me, I am cleared, I refer all this to your own judgment. What new crime have I committed fince? I was in a deep fleep when my " enemies waked me, and loaded me with chains.

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"Is it natural for a man, who is conscious that he is guilty of the most horrid of all crimes, to be thus easy and undisturbed? The innocence of my own conscience, and the promise your majesty made me, gave my soul this calm. Do not let the envy of my enemies prevail over your clemency and justice."

The result of this assembly was, that Philotas should be put on the rack. The persons, who presided on that occasion, were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas, at first, discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed himself to be guilty; named several accomplices, and even accused his own father. The next day, the answers of Philotas were read in a sull assembly, he himself being present. Upon the whole, he was unanimously sentenced to die; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

They also judged at the same time, and put to death, Lyncestes Alexander, who had been sound guilty of conspiring the death of the king, and kept three years

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The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the fon to death. Polydamas, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to fee the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intrusted with the king's treasures, which amounted to an hundred and sourscore thousand talents, about

twenty feven millions sterling. Alexander had given him feveral letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander. and the other fealed with Philotas's feal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicions. Polydamas was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's, After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together, with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamas spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him. with an air of the utmost joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had past on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In opening it, he asked him what the king was doing, to which Polydamas replied, that he would know by his majesty's letter. Parmenio, after perusing it, said as follows: " The king is preparing to march against the Arachofii. How glorious a prince is this, who will not suffer himself to take a moment's rest! However, he ought to be a little tender of himself, on now he has acquired fo much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, feemed pleas'd with the contents of it. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his fide, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illustrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never atchieved any thing conspicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person of great abilities and execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more so to the officers and soldiers, who reposed the highest confidence in him; and looked upon themselves as assured of victory when he was at their

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head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threescore and ten years of age; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable sidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his son and himself having been put to death, merely on a slight suspicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the

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(k) Alexander was fensible, that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding therefore, that it would be proper for him to separate, from the rest of the army, such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, lest their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inslicted on them. But they were so strongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. After having passed through Drangania, Arachosia, and the country of the Arimaspi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain, called Paropamisus (a part of Caucasus) where his army underwent inexpressible satigues, through weariness, thirst, cold, and the snows; which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him.

⁽k) Arrian. l. 3. p. 143, 148. Q. Curt. l. 7. c. 3—5. Diod. l. 17. P. 552, 554. A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329. VOL. VI.

He indeed fuffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repose for some time at Drapfaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two strongest cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about feven or eight thousand Bactrians, who till then, had adhered very firmly to Bessus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his respective home. Beffus, at the head of the small number of forces who continued faithful to him, passed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himself made use of, to prevent Alexander from croffing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raife a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and, not meeting with trees or timber sufficient for the building of boats and rafts or floats of timber, he fupplied the want of these by distributing to his soldiers a great number of skins stuffed with straw, and such like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they croffed the river in this manner; those, who went over first, drawing up in battle array, whilst their commanders were coming after them. In this manner his whole army passed over in fix days.

Whilst these things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Bessus's chief confident, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having feized his person, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and fet him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the Branchidæ. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly fent into Upper Afia, where he had fettled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been intrusted. These received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surrendred

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dred both themselves and their city to him. Alexander fent for fuch Milefians as were in his army, who preferved an hereditary hatred against the Branchida, because of the treachery of their ancestors. They then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in confideration of their common extraction. Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to furround the city; and, a fignal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the fword, which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the least distinction made of age or fex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were these ill fated citizens guilty? Were they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of 150 years before? I do not know whether history furnishes another example of fo brutal and frantic a cruelty.

A little after Bessus was brought to Alexander not only bound, but stark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was dissicult to say, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or Macedonians. In presenting him to the king, he said these words: "I have, at last, revenged both you and Darius, my kings and masters. I bring you a wretch who assassinated his solvereign, and who is now treated in the same manner as himself gave the first example of. Alas! Why cannot Darius himself see this spectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Bessus and spoke thus: "Thou

" furely must have been inspired with the rage and " fury of a tyger, otherwise thou wouldest not have " dared to load a king, from whom thou hadft received fo many instances of favour, with chains, and afterwards murderhim? Be gone from my fight, thou monster of cruelty and perfidiousness." The king faid no more, but fending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Bessus to him, in order that he might suffer all the ignominy he deferved; fuspending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general affembly of the Persians, d visitablement ad of ment beish

off the bandage which covered his wound SECT. XIII. Alexander, after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxarthes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, fend ambassadors to the king, who address themselves to him with uncommon freedom. After having dismissed them, he passes the laxarthes, gains a fignal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity towards the vanguished. He checks and punishes the insurrection of the Sogdians, sends Beffus to Echatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable.

(a) A Lexander, insatiable of victory and conquests, fill marched forward in fearch of new nations whom he might subdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had fuffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the * Iaxarthes.

Not far from this river, the Barbarians rushing suddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces, and having carried off a great number of prisoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in

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which he took; and after leaving a confiderable gar-(a) Arrian. 1. 3. p. 148, 149. & 1. 4. p. 150-160. Q. Curt. 1. 7. c. 6-11. I here came an embally to him from

[.] Quintus Curtius and Arrian not in the Caspian sea, but in the calls it the Tanais, but they are Pontus Euxinus, and is now called mistaken. The Tanais lies much the Don. more westward, and empties itself,

which were twenty thousand, who fought with bows and flings. The king went and besieged them in perfon, and being one of the foremost in the attack, he was thot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point fluck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not so secretly but the Barbarians knew of it; for they faw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they fent ambaffadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he shewed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. These assured him, that as soon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could possibly be; and that had it been possible for them to find the person who had shot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war against the gods: in a word, that being vanquished by his unparallelled bravery, they furrendered themselves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his prisoners, accepted of their homage.

After this, he fet out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great dispute arose between the horse and soot, who should carry it, each of those bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only: and there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they should carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very confiderable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a confiderable garrifon there, he burnt and laid waste all the plains.

There came an embassy to him from the (b) Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: these submitted to Alexander.

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⁽b) Abii Scythæ.

They were confidered as the most equitable of all the Barbariars; never making war but to defend themfelves; and the liberty established among them, and which they no ways abused, removed all distinction, and equalled the meanest among them with the greatest. A love of poverty and justice was their peculiar eharacteristic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and fent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian

Bosphorus.

He had marked out a fpot of ground proper for building a city on the river Laxarthes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, and those he intended to subdue. But this design was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was foon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander difpatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Beffus into his hands, believing him a very fit person to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himself had been chiefly instrumental in this insurrection. The king, greatly furprized at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the most fignal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and befieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whose name it was called. At the fame time he fent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to besiege the city of the Memaceni, to whom fifty troopers were fent, to defire them to fue for Alexander's clemency. These met with a very kind reception at first, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had resolved to spare Cyropolis, purely for the fake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over these nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, because they had surpassed all the rest in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the befieged, but they were

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to blindly obstinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and insolence; upon which he stormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his foldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was befieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander loft his best foldiers before it, and was himself exposed to very great danger; a stone striking him with fo much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his fenses. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears: but this prince, whom no danger or disappointment could deprefs, pushed on the siege with greater vigour than before, the instant he recovered, without staying till his wound was healed, anger adding fresh fuel to his natural ardor. Having therefore caused the wall to be fapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burnt to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the fword. Several other cities met with the same fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They loft above an hundred and twenty thousand men in these different fleges. The king afterwards fent Menedemus with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garrison, and shut himself up there.

With regard to himself, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he surrounded with walls the whole spot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing sixty * surlongs in circumference, which he also called Alexandria; having before built several of that name. He caused the workmen to make such dispatch, that in less than twenty days the ramparts were raised, and the houses built: and indeed there was a great emulation among the soldiers, who should get his work done soonest, every one of them having had his portion al-

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lotted him: and, to people his new city, he ranfomed all the prisoners he could meet with, settled several Macedonians there who were worn out in the service, and permitted many natives of the country, at their

own request, to inhabit it.

But the king of those Scythians, who live on the other fide of the laxarthes, feeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they fent a great body of foldiers to demolish it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater distance. Alexander, who had no defign of attacking the Scythians, finding them make feveral incursions, even in his fight, in a very infolent manner, was very much perplexed; especially when advice was brought him at the fame time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a number of obstacles would have discouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians also; his army was harraffed by the Scythians; he himself was brought so low, that he was not able to stand upright, to mount on horseback, to speak to his forces, or give a fingle order. To increase this affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the passage of the river in fight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in the utmost perplexity all night long; however, his courage furmounted all things. Being told, that the aufpices were not propitious, he forced the foothfayers to substitute favourable ones in their stead. The day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and shewed himself to the foldiers, who had not feen him fince the last wound he had received. These held their king in such high veneration, that only his prefence immediately removed all their fears, so that they shed tears of joy, and went unanimously and paid him their respects; intreating him to lead them against the enemy, against whom they before had refused to march. They worked so hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days time they

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As every thing was ready for the march, feveral Scythian ambassadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the custom of their country, who all rode through the camp, defiring to speak with the king. Alexander having fent for them into his tent. defired them to fit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without speaking a single word, being very probably furprized (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and stature) to find that his did not answer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldest of the ambassadors made this speech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I shall present my readers with the greatest part

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to thy ambition, the whole universe would have been too little for thee. With one hand thou wouldest touch the east, and with the other the west; and, not fatisfied with this, thou wouldest follow the fun, and know where he hides himself. Such as "thou art, thou yet aspirest after what it will be impossible for thee to attain. Thou crossest over from Europe into Asia; and when thou shalt have sub-

dued all the race of men, thou then wilt make war against rivers, forests, and wild beasts. Dost thou

not know, that tall trees are many years a growing, but may be tore up in an hour's time; that the lion

ferves sometimes for food to the smallest birds; that

iron, though fo very hard, is confumed by rust; in a word, that there is nothing fo strong which may

not be destroyed by the weakest thing?

What have we to do with thee? We never fet foot in thy country. May not those who inhabit woods, be allowed to live without knowing who "thou art, and whence thou comest? We will neither

command over, or submit to any man. And that

ee thou

thou mayest be sensible what kind of people the 66 Scythians are, know, that we received from to heaven, as a rich present, a yoke of oxen, a 64 plough-share, a dart, a javelin, and a cup. These we make use of, both with our friends and against our enemies. To our friends we give corn, which we procure by the labour of our oxen; with them we offer wine to the gods in our cup : and with regard to our enemies, we combat them at a distance with our arrows, and near at hand with our javeins. * It is with these we formerly conquered the most warlike nations, subdued the most powerful kings, laid waste all Asia, and opened our selves a way into the heart of Egypt. But thou, who boaftest thy coming to extirpate robbers, thou thy felf art the greatest robber upon earth. Thou hast plundered all nations thou overcamest. Thou hast possessed thyself of Lydia, invaded Syria, Persia, and Bactriana; thou art form-" ing a defign to march as far as India, and thou now comest hither to seize upon our herds of cattle. The great possessions thou hast, only make thee covet more eagerly what thou hast not. Dost

thou not fee how long the Bactrians have checked thy progress? Whilst thou art subduing these, the Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee only the occafion of war. Itinoo noigher two sw of bug.

Pass but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the great extent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee to pursue the Scythians; and I defy thee ever

to overtake them. Our poverty will be more active than thy army, laden with the spoils of so

many nations; and, when thou shalt fancy us at a great distance, thou wilt see us rush suddenly on I ne niver ous to Macedonia.

* This is to be understood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, the biftory of the Affyrians. I have who advanced as far as Egypt, not followed Q. Curtius literally in and possessed themselves of Upper this place, his sense being pretty Afia, for twenty-eight years. See much embarroffed.

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thy camp; for we purfue, and fly from our enemies, with equal speed. I am informed that the "Greeks speak jestingly of the Scythian solitudes, and that they are even become a proverb; but we are fonder of our defarts, than of thy great cities and fruitful plains. Let me observe to thee, that ff fortune is flippery; hold her fast therefore, for fear the should escape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou defireft to continue in possession of it. If thou art a god, thou oughtest to do good to mortals, and not deprive them of their possessions: if thou art a mere man, reflect always on what thou art. They whom thou shalt not molest, will " be thy true friends; the strongest friendships being contracted between equals; and they are effeemed equals, who have not tried their strength against " each other: But don't imagine that those whom " thou conquereft, can love thee; for there is no fuch 44 thing as friendship between a master and his slave, and a forced peace is foon followed by a war. To conclude, * do not fancy that the Scythians

" will take an oath in their concluding an alliance.

The only oath among them, is to keep their word without fwearing. Such cautions as thefe do

" indeed become Greeks, who fign their treaties, and " call upon the gods to witness them; but, with re-

" gard to us, our religion confifts in being fincere,

and in keeping the promises we have made. That man, who is not ashamed to break his word with

men, is not ashamed of deceiving the gods; and of what use could friends be to thee whom thou

of couldest not trust? Consider that we will guard both

Europe and Asia for thee. We extend as far as Thrace, and are told, that this country is contigu-

ous to Macedonia. The river Iaxarthes only, di-

^{*} Jurando gratiam Scythas fan- cant : nos religionem in ipfa fide cire ne credideris: colendo fidem novimus. Qui non reverentur hojurant. Græcorum ista cautio est, mines, fallunt deos. 2. Curt. qui acta confignant, & deos invo-

vides us from Bactriana Thus we are thy neigh-66 bours, on both fides, Confider therefore, whether thou wilt have us for friends, or enemies."

The Barbarian spoke thus: To whom the king made but a very short answer; That he would take advantage both of his own good fortune, and of their coun-Sel; of his good fortune, by fill continuing to rely upon it; and of their counsel, by not attempting any thing rafbly. Having dismissed the ambassadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed fuch as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to fecure themselves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind these were those who worked the machines for discharging arrows and stones, covered on all sides with foldiers, armed cap-a-pee. The rest who followed the engines, had their shields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoife, by which they defended the failors who wore corflets. The like order and disposition was observed in the other rafts or floats return back into the came till .shod adt bairs andw.

The army found great difficulty in croffing, Every thing conspired to intimidate them; the clamour and confusion that are inseparable from such an enterprize; the rapidity of the stream, which carried away every thing with it; and the fight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the opposite shore. However, the presence of Alexander, who was ever the foremost in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own fafety, and be concerned for his only. As foon as the Macedonians began to draw near the shore, they who carried shields rose up together, when throwing their javelins with a ftrong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived, that the enemy, overpowered with that shower of shafts, began to retire, and draw their horses back, they leapt on the shore with incredible swiftness, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this disorder, the troopers, whose horses were ready bridled, rushed

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rushed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reason of the faintness of his voice; but the example he set, spoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but shouts of joy and victory, whilst they continued to attack the Barbarians with the utmost surv. The latter not being able to fland fo fierce an onfer, fled as fast as their horses could carry them; for these were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheless pursued them briskly a long way, till being at last quite spent, he was obliged to ftop. After commanding his troops to purfue them as long as they could fee, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repose himself, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great stones ranged pretty close one to the other; and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the pursuit carried them still farther, and they did not return back into the camp till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more prisoners, with eighteen hundred horses, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's fide there were but fixty troopers flain, and about an hundred foot, with a thousand wounded. Alexander sent back to the Scythians, all their prisoners without ranfom, to shew, that not animosity, but a thirst of glory, had prompted him to make war against fo vain falcty, and be concerned noisens a thail

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquished, greatly increased his reputation. The Scythians had always been considered as invincible; but, after their deseat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The Sacæ, who were a powerful nation, sent an embassy to Alexander, by which they submitted themselves to him, and requested his friendship. The Scythians themselves made

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an apology by their ambassadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on some sew people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the com-

mands of the victorious prince. In viewens does a

Alexander, being so happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himself. At the first news of Alexander's approach, he had sled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king pursued him thither, but despairing to come up with him, he returned back and facked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken prisoners, there were thirty young men, who were well-shaped and very comely, and the greatest lords of the country. These being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to fing fongs of joy, to leap and dance, discovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, surprized to see them go to death with fo much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he asked them, how they came to break into fuch transports of joy, when they faw death before their eyes. They answered, that they should have been afflicted, had any other person but himself put them to death; but as they would be restored to their ancestors by the command of so great a monarch, who had vanquithed all nations, they bleffed this death; a death so glorious that the bravest men would wish to die the same. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, asked whether they would defire to be pardoned, upon condition that they should no longer be his enemies: they answered, he might be assured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he attacked them, they had defended themselves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vyed with him in politeness and generosity. The king asked them farther, what pledge they would give him

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of their faith and fincerity: "No other, answered they; but the same life we receive from your goodines, and which we shall always be ready to give back, whenever you shall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a small number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having affembled all his generals, he commanded Beffus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and caufing his nofe and ears to be cut off, he fent him to Ecbatana, there to fuffer whatever punishment Darius's mother should think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Several trees were bent, by main force, one towards the other; and to each of these trees, one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastned. Afterwards, these trees being let return to their matural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and fo quartered him. The fame punishment is at this day inflicted on persons convicted of high-treason, who are tore to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of fixteen thousand men. By this confiderable reinforcement, he was enabled to subdue all those who had rebelled; and, to curb them for the future, he built several fortresses in Margiana.

(b) All things were now restored to a prosound tranquillity. There remained but one strong-hold called Petra Oxiana, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thousand soldiers under his command, and ammunition and provisions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible only by a single path that was cut in it. The king,

(b) A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 328.

after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try if he could not overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortisted this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the siege, he summoned those Barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and, after using several insulting expressions, asked "whether Alexander, who was able to do all things, could fly also; and whether nature had, on a sud-

Alexander was highly exasperated at this answer. He therefore gave orders for felecting, from among the the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the most active and dextrous. These being brought to him, he addressed them thus: " It was in your company, brave young men, that I stormed fuch places as were thought impregnable; that I " made my way over mountains covered with eternal " fnows; croffed rivers, and broke through the paffes of Cilicia. This rock, which you fee, has but one outlet, which alone is defended by the Barbarians, who neglect every other part. There is no watch or centinel, except on that fide which faces our camp. If you fearch very narrowly, you certainly will meet with some path that leads to the top of the rock. Nothing has been made fo inaccessible by nature, as not to be surmounted by vaof lour; and it was only by our attempting, what no . one before had hopes of effecting, that we possessed ourselves of Asia. Get up to the summit, and when you shall have made yourselves masters of it, " fet up a white flandard there as a fignal; and be " affured, that I then will certainly difengage you from the enemy, and draw them upon myself by making a diversion." At the same time that the king gave out this order, he made them the most noble

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ble promifes; but the pleafing him, was considered by them as the greatest of all rewards. Fired therefore with the noblest ardour, and fancying they had already reached the summit, they set out, after having provided themselves with wedges to drive into the stones, cramp-irons and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march * at the fecond watch of the night, by that part which should feem to them of easiest access; beseeching the gods to guide their steps. They then took provisions for two days; and being armed with fwords and javelins only, they began to ascend the mountain, walking some time on foot; afterwards, when it was necessary for them to climb, some forced their wedges into the stones which projected forwards, and by that means raifed themselves; others thrust their cramp-irons into the stones that were frozen, to keep themselves from falling in fo flippery a way; in fine, others, driving in their wedges with great strength, made them ferve as fo many scaling ladders. They spent the whole day in this manner, hanging against the rock, and exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to struggle at the same time with snow, cold and wind. Nevertheless the hardest task was yet to come; and the further they advanced the higher the rock feemed to rife. But that which terrified them most, was the sad spectacle of some of their comrades falling down precipices, whose unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themselves might expect. Notwithstanding this, they still advanced forward, and exerted themselves so vigorously, that, in spite of all these difficulties, they at last got to the top of the rock. They then were all inexpressibly weary, and many of them had even loft the use of some of their limbs. Night and drowfiness came upon them at the same time, so that, dispersing themselves in such distant parts of the rock as were free from snows,

^{*} About ten o'clock.

they laid down in them, and stept till day-break. At last waking from a deep steep, and looking on all sides to discover the place where so many people could lie hid, they saw smoke below them, which shewed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the signal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were sound wanting, who had lost their lives in the ascent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a defire of storming the fortress, and struck with the visible dangers to which those men were exposed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himself did not retire to rest till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the first who perceived the fignal. Nevertheless, he was still in doubt whether he might trust his eyes, because of the false splendor which breaks out at day-break; but the light increasing, he was sure of what he saw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had founded the Barbarians, he dispatched him a fecond time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in case they should still depend upon the Arength of the place, he then was ordered to shew them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the fummit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments possible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; representing to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in case he did not interrupt the great defigns he meditated, by obliging him to make fome flay before that rock. Arimazes fent a haughtier and more infolent answer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, defired he would come out of the cave with him, which the Barbarian doing, he shewed him the Macedonians posted over his head, and faid, in an infulting tone of voice, You fee that Alexander's foldiers have wings. In the mean time, the trumpets were heard to found in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army shouted aloud and eried, victory. Thefe

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These things, though of little consequence in themfelves, did nevertheless, as often happens, throw the Barbarians into fo great a consternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the fummit, they thought themselves lost. Upon this Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the Barbarians were fent back with him, who agreed to furrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be fpared. The king, notwithstanding the strong oppofition he might meet with, was however so exasperated at the haughtiness of Arimazes, that he refused to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and rash confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him insensible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other fide, blinded by fear, and concluding himself absolutely lost, came down, with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not mafter of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses, at the foot of the same rock. multitudes of people who furrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in those parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock, and the whole province round it.

SECT. XIV. The death of Clitus. Several expeditions of Alexander. He commands worship to be paid to bimself, after the manner of the Persians. Discontents arise among the Macedonians. Death of Callisthenes the philosopher.

the Dahæ, entered Bazaria. In this province are a great number of large parks stocked with deer. Here the king took the diversion of hunting, in which

⁽c) Q. Curt. 1. 8. c. 1—8: Arrian. 1. 4. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex. p. 693—696. Justin. 1. 12. c. 6—7.

he was exposed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous fize advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a fingle thrust. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occasion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his person, gave orders, pursuant to the custom of their country, that the king should go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by some of his courtiers and officers. They were sensible, that a king is not born for his own sake, but for that of his subjects; that he ought to be careful of his own person for their sakes, and reserve his courage for other dangers; and that the being samous for killing beasts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchased so dear.

From hence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled fome tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requesting to be discharged from the government of that province, by reason of his great age, he appointed Clitus his fuccessor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and fignalized himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rosaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, he covered the king with his shield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his fifter, had nurfed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother. As the king, from these several considerations, had very great respect for Clitus, he entrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to fet out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, * after drinking immoderately, begun to celebrate his own exploits; and was so excessively lavish of self-com-

cœpit : gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. 2. Curt.

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mendation, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth. However, the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boafted, "That the famous victory of Chæronea was won by 16 his means; and that the glory of fo immortal a " battle had been torn from him by the malice and is jealoufy of his father. That in the * infurrection which broke out between the Macedonians and mer-"cenary Greeks, Philip, fainting away after the wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid "himself on the ground; and could not think of a st better method to fave himfelf, than by lying along 16 as dead; that on this occasion he had covered him " with his shield, and killed with his own hands those who attempted to fall upon him; but that 46 his father could never prevail upon himfelf to confels this circumstance ingenuously, being vexed that he owed his life to his own fon. That in the Wwar against the Illyrians, he was the only person who had done any thing, Philip having had no manner of fhare in it; and hearing of the defeat of the enemy, no otherwise than by the letters he fent him. That the persons worthy of praise, were not such as initiated themselves in the + mysteries of the Samothracians, when they ought to the have laid waste all Asia with fire and sword; but those who had atchieved such mighty exploits as se furpaffed all belief." enline de la partir de la ferrales en la confideration de la

These and the like discourses were very pleasing to the young men, but were very shocking to those advanced in years; especially for Philip's sake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who also was intoxicated, turning about to those who fat under immoderately, begun to celebrate his own

in any other place.

t It was usual for generals, before they fet out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated in

mendation,

This fedition is not mentioned thefe mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided in them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, bad delayed some enter-

him at table, quoted to them a passage from * Euripides, but in fuch a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words diffinctly. The sense of this passage was, "That the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that in the infcriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only " should be mentioned; + because, by this means, brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchased with their blood." The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who fat nearest him, what he had faid? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigioufly vexed in his mind, he nevertheless stifled his refentment, and feemed to liften very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopt there; but the latter growing more and more infolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, went fuch lengths, as to defend Parmenio publickly; and to affert, that the deftroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though fometimes unfuccefsful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardife the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause; Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger, "It is nevertheless this hand, (said he to him, extending it at the same time) that saved your life at the battle of the Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of these very Macedonians, who are accused of cowardise, that raised you to this grandeur. But the tragical end of Parmenio shews,

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^{*} In bis Andromache. † Alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi. Q. Curt.

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" what reward they and myself may expect for all our " fervices." This last reproach stung Alexander: however, he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. " He is in the right " (fays Clitus, as he rose up) not to bear freeborn " men at his table, who can only tell him truth. " will do well to pass his life among Barbarians and faves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to " his Perfian girdle, and his white robe." But now the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers with-held his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, finging with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who feeing the general near him, ftruck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time, Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus.

The king's anger being in a manner extinguished, on a sudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime displayed itself to him in its blackest and most dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed abused his patience, but then he had always ferved him with the utmost zeal and fidelity, and faved his life, though he was ashamed to own it. He had that instant performed the vile office of an executioner, in punishing, by an horrid murder, the uttering of some indifcreet words. which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the fifter of Clitus, his nurse, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? Upon this he threw himself on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have dispatched himself with it, had not the guards, who ruthed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He passed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite wasted his

spirits.

spirits, he continued speechless, stretched on the ground, and only venting deep fighs. But his friends, fearing his filence would be fatal, forced into his chamber, The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him; but Aristander the foothfayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he faw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and feated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little easier in his mind, He next was addressed by two philosophers, Calli-Sthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderness, and endeavoured to suppress his grief, by agreeably infinuating himself, and endeavoured to make him recal his reafon, by reflections of a folid nature, drawn from the very essence of philosophy, and by carefully shunning all fuch expressions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was still bleeding, required to be touched with the gentlest hand. But Anaxarchus did not observe this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, How! Is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, shedding floods of tears, like the meanest slave! Does not be know, that he himfelf is a supreme law to his subjects; that he conquered merely to raise himself to the exalted dignity of lord and sovereign, and not to subject himself to a vain opinion? The king was determined to starve himself; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little sustenance. cedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been very justly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philosopher had given occasion, by afferting, that the will of princes is the supreme law of the state. Alas! how weak are all fuch reflections, against the cries of a justly-alarmed conscience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or false arguments!

Sing (c) ereat' not to Philip was fa fibly the la with 1 ness t pity, breaki quite 1 of kin they r fulting ungua

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* Full Vol Te must be confessed, that Clitus had committed a great and inexcusable fault. It was indeed his duty. not to join in discourses calculated to fully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to fhew his diflike of what was faid, by a mournful but modelt filence. He poffibly might have been allowed to speak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expressed himself with prudence and moderation. Had fuch a refervedness been unsuccessful, he might justly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and shocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the facred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjustly foever they may act, not only every contemptuous and infulting expression is forbid, but every disrespectful and unguarded word; they being the reprefentatives of God himself.

It must nevertheless be consessed, that the circumstance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in some measure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a subject to a feast; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in person excites him to quast immoderately; a king, on such an occasion, seems to forget his dignity, and to permit his subjects to forget it also; he gives a fanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden slights which wine commonly inspires: And should he be displeased with a subject for equalling himself with him, he ought to blame himself, for having first raised a subject so high. A fault committed under these circumstances, is always a fault; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares * anger, when united to power, with thunder; and indeed, what havock does it not then make? But how dreadful must it be, when joined with drunkenness! We see this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endea-

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^{*} Fulmen est, ubi cum potestate liabitat iracundia, Publ. Syr.

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youred to subdue those two vices in his youth ; + and to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is afferted, that both were the confequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to excess? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the transports of anger? | Alexander, who had overcome fo many nations, was himfelf conquered by those two vices, which threw a shade over the glory of his brightest actions. The reason of this, says Seneca, is, he had endeavoured more to vanquish others, than to fubdue himself; not knowing, that to triumph over our passions is of all conquests the most glorious, sible sale

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his spirits, marched into Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither fome rebels were retired, all whom he fubjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he fet forward with his army, towards the rock Chorienfis, of which Syfimethres was governor. All access to it feemed abfolutely impracticable; nevertheless, he at last got near it, after having paffed through numberless difficulties; and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Sysimethres to surrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promifed him very great advantages in case he continued them in heaps up and down, he had fires malindian [-

Alexander had refolved to attack the Dahe, be cause Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, was among them; but the felicity which always attended him, fpared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond, wretched

+ Nec minus error eorum noset moribus, fi quidem Leonides Alexandri pædagogus, ut à Baby- pulorum, iræ fuccubuit. Id enim lonio Diogene traditur, quibusdam eum vitiis imbuit, quæ robustum quoque & jam maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili funt pro-

Quintil. 1. 1. c. 1. fecuta. Victor tot regum atque poegerat, ut omnia potius haberet in potestate, quam affectus-Imperare fibi, maximum imperium

eft. Senec, Epift, 113.

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life her hufband forced her to lead; and having often intreated him, but in vain, to furrender himself to the conqueror, the herfelf murthered him in the night: and quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was shocked at so horrid spectacle, and ordered her to be drove ignomigranfoorts of anger? | Alexan.quas and strongart

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garrisons where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful storm. Flashes of lightning. coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the foldiers, and entirely discouraged them. It thundered almost incessantly, and the thunder-bolts fell every moment at the feet of the foldiers; fo that they did not dare either to stand still or advanced forward. On a sudden, a violent shower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and fo exfreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the train as foon as it fell. The fufferings of the army, on tothist occasion, were insupportable. The king, who was the only person invincible to these calamities, rode up and down among the foldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at smoke which issued from fome distant huts, intreated them to march to othern with all the speed possible. Having given orders befor the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in difeferent places, and by this means faved the army, but supwards of a thousand men lost their lives. The king made up to the officers and foldiers, the feveral loffes nthey had fustained during this fatal storm. and barrel

bed When they were recovered fo well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the Saca, which he foon over-run and laid waste. Soon after this, Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a fumptuous banquet, in which he displayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter called Roxana, a young lady whose exquisite beauty

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was heightened by all the charms of wit and good fense. Alexander found her charms irrefistible, and made her his wise; covering his passion with the specious pretence of uniting the two nations, in such bands as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, to see him make one of his slaves his sather-in-law: but as, * after his murthering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themselves wonderfully to

flattery and servile complacency.

In fine; having refolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his designs) that thirty thousand young men should be brought him, all completely armed, out of the feveral provinces, to ferve him at the fame time as hoftages and foldiers. In the mean while, he fent Craterus against some of the rebels, whom he easily defeated. Polysperchon likewise subdued a country called Bubacene; fo that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was confidered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorn themselves, but with more luxury than gracefulness. It was related, that the fwords of the foldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greatest monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any person whatsoever, in any circumstance, caused the fwords of his foldiers to be fet off with filver plates; put golden bridles to the horses; had the coats of mail heightened with gold and filver, and prepared to march for this enterprize, at the head of an hundred

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^{*} Sed, post Clyti cædem, libertate sublata, vultu, qui maxime servit, assentiebantur. Q. Curt.

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and twenty thousand men, all equipped with the magnificence above described.

All things being ready for their fetting out, he thought proper to reveal the defign he had so long meditated, viz. to have divine honours paid him; and was folely intent on the means for putting that defign in execution. He was refolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the fon of Jupiter, as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue; and that the Macedonians would condescend to fall prostrate, and adore him after the Persian manner.

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To * footh and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed; would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them to a man refufing to vary, in any manner, from the customs of their country. The whole evil was owing to some Greeks, whose depraved manners were a scandal to their profession of teaching virtue and the sciences. These, though the mean refuse of Greece, were nevertheless in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army! It was fuch creatures as these that placed him in the fkies; and published wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, would resign their feats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a festival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greateft lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and most of the highest quality among the Persians. With these he sat down at table for some time, after which he withdrew. Upon this, Clean, one of his flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the praises of the king, as had before been agreed

affentatio, quam hostis, evertit. 2. Curt.

^{*} Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes fæpius

upon. He made a long detail of the high obligation they had to him, all which (he observed) they might acknowledge and repay at a very eafy expence, merely with two grains of incense, which they should offer him as to a god, without the least scruple, fince they believed him fuch. To this purpose he cited the example of the Perlians. He took notice, that Hercules himself, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities, till after they had furmounted the envy of their cotemporaries. That in case the rest should not care to pay this justice to Alexander's merit, he himfelf was refolved to shew them the way, and to worthip him if he thould come into the half. But that all of them must do their duty, especially those that profelled wildom, who ought to serve to the rest as an example of the veneration due to fo great a monarch.

* It appeared plainly, that this speech was directed to Callisthenes. (d) He was related to Aristotle, who had prefented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Persia. He was confidered, upon account of his wisdom and gravity, as the fittest person to give him such wholesome counsel, as was most capable of preserving him from those excesses, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: but he was accused of not posfelling the gentle, infinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not knowing a certain medium, between groveling complacency, and inflexible obstinacy. Aristotle had attempted, but to no purpose, to fosten the feverity of his temper; and forefeeing the ill confequences, with which his disagreeable liberty of speaking his mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following verse of + Homer to him.

My son, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true,

(d) Diogen. Laert. in Ariftot. lib. 5. p. 303.

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^{*} Inter abruptam contumaciam ambitione ac periculis vacuum, deforme obsequium pergere iter Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 20. deforme obsequium pergere iter * 'Duu mop on moi teno lorsai, of alyopeusis. Il. 18. v. 95.

This philosopher seeing that every one, on this oceasion, continued in a deep filence, and that the eyes of the whole affembly were fixed on him, made a freech, which appears to me just enough. However, it often happens, when a subject is bound in duty to oppose the inclinations of his fovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful zeal is considered as insolence and rebellion. " Had the king, faid he, been or present when thou madest thy speech, none among " us would then have attempted to answer thee, for " he himself would have interrupted thee, and not have suffered thee to prompt him to assume the customs of Barbarians, in casting an odium on his perfon and glory, by fo fervile an adulation. But " fince he is absent, I will answer thee in his name. I confider Alexander as worthy of all the honours "that can be paid a mortal; but there is a difference " between the worship of the gods and that of men. The former includes temples, altars, prayers and facrifices; the latter is confined to praises only, and awful respect. We falute the latter, and look upon it as glorious to pay them submission, obedience and fidelity; but we adore the former; we institute festivals to their honour, and fing hymns and spiritual songs to their glory. The worship of the gods does itself vary, according to their rank; and the homage we pay to Castor and Pollux, is not like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. We must not therefore confound all things, either by bringing down the gods to the condition of mortals, or by raifing a mortal to the state of a god. Alexander would be justly offended, should we pay, to another person, the homage " due to his facred person only; ought we not to dread the indignation of the gods as much, should we " bestow, upon mortals, the honours due to them " alone? I am sensible that our monarch is vastly superior to the rest; he is the greatest of kings, and "the most glorious of all conquerors; but then he is Rid T

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first be divested of his mortal frame; but this is greatly our interest to wish may not happen, but as late as possible. The Greeks did not worship Hercules till after his death, and that not till the oracle had expressly commanded it. The Persians are cited as an example for our imitation; but how long is it that the vanquished have given law to the wictor? Can we forget, that Alexander crossed the Hellespont, not to subject Greece to Asia, but Asia to Greece?

The deep filence which all the company observed whilst Callithenes spoke, was an indication, in some measure, of their thoughts. The king, who flood behind the tapestry all the time, heard whatever had passed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, that without infifting any farther, he would only require the Persians to fall proftrate, according to their usual custom; a little after which he came in, pretending he had been busied in some affair of importance. Immediately the Persians fell prostrate to adore him. Polysperchon, who stood near him, observing that one of them bowed fo low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to firike barder. The king, offended at this joke, threw Polysperchon into prison, and broke up the assembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him, but Callifthenes was not fo fortunate, chan ed or admortaldw about bas

To rid himself of him, he laid to his charge a crime, of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers, who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of some private pique, formed a conspiracy against him; but it was very happily discovered, the instant it was to be put in execution. The crimina's were seized, put to the torture and executed. Not one among them had accused Callisthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus, that alone was sufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons,

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and the most grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confession of guilt. But he infifted upon his innocence to the laft, and expired in the

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Nothing has reflected fo much dishonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjust and cruel death of Callifthenes. He truly merited the name of Philosopher, from the folidity of his understanding, the extent of his knowledge, the aufterity of his life, the regularity of his conduct; and above all, from the hatred he fo evidently manifested for dissimulation and slattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which must have a supple, pliable, slexible turn of mind; fometimes it must be of a knavish, and treacherous, at least of an hypocritical, flattering cast. He very feldom was feen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed fo far upon himself as to go thither, his melancholy, filent air, was a manifest indication, that he disapproved of every thing that was faid and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too fevere, he would have been an inestimable treasure, had he been possessed by a prince who hated falshood: for among the many thousands who surrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Callifthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes, who know the value of fuch a virtue, and the use which ought to be made of it? Truth feldom pierces those clouds which are raised by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to those things which were for his true interest. From that instant, no one spoke with freedom in the council; even those, who had the greatest love for the public good, and a personal affection for Alexander, thought themselves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was listened to but flattery, which gained such an ascendant over that prince,

P 5

as entirely depraved him, and justly punished him, for having facrificed to the wild ambition of having ado. ration paid him, the most virtuous man about his

I observe after Seneca, that the death of * Calli-Rhenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and for horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful foever, no military exploit, though of the most conspicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is faid in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Persians; that he dethroned and slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the most remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the east: in answer to each of these particulars, Yes, says Seneca, but he murdered Callisthenes; a crime of so heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions. of amulary blunds as thout gritical in

SECT. XV. Alexander fets out for India. A digreffion with regard to that country. He befieges and takes several cities which appeared impregnable, and is often in danger of his life. He crosses the river Indus, afterwards the Hydaspes, and gains a signal victory over Porus, whom he restores to his throne.

(e) A Lexander, to stop the murmurs and discontents which arose among his soldiers, set out for India. He himself wanted action and motion, for he

(e) Q. Curt. 1. 8. c. 9.

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tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, & imperium ex angulo Thracize usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, fed Callifthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla transicrit, ex his quæ fecit, nihil tam magnum erit, quam fcelus Callifthenis. Senec. Not. Quaft. 1.6. c. 23.

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^{*} Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternim, quòd nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, occidit Perfarem multa millia ; opponetur, & Callifthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, occidit Darium, penes quem tunc magnum regnum erat; opronetur, & Callithenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceano

prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite useles in itself, and attended with very dangerous consequences. He had read in the antient sables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both sons of Jupiter, as himself was, had marched so far. He was determined not to be surpassed by them; and there were not wanting statterers, who applauded this wild, chi-

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These are the things that constitute the glory and merit of fuch pretended heroes : and it is this which many people, dazzled by a false splendor, still admire in Alexander: a ridiculous defire of rambling up and down the world; of disturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all those as enemies, who should refuse to acknowledge him for their fovereign; of ranfacking and extirpating fuch as should presume to defend their liberties, their possessions, and their lives, against an unjust invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the least shadow of rea-Add to this glaring injustice, the rash and stupid project he had form'd, of fubduing with infinite labour. and the utmost hazard, many more nations than it was possible for him to keep in subjection; and the sad necessity to which he was reduc'd, of being perpetually oblig'd to conquer them a-new, and punish them for their rebellion. This is a sketch of what the conquest of India will exhibit to us, after I shall have given fome little account of the fituation and manners of that country, and some of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts: India on this, and India on the other fide of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even fo far as the Ganges. This first part is situated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy says, the limits of it are, to the west, Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia,

which

which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Perlia: to the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: to the east, the Gan-

ges: to the fouth, the Ocean or Indian fea.

(f) All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedaraonians, have no flaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make use of foreign slaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illustrious men is their mausolæum.

They may be divided into seven classes. The first and most honourable, though the smallest, is that of the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I shall have occasion to mention them in

the fequel.

The fecond and greatest is that of the husbandmen. These are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and serve in the field in war-time: it is an inviolable law, never to molest them or their lands.

The third is that of herdsmen and shepherds, who keep herds and slocks, and never come into cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often

exercise themselves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and feamen are included. These three tast orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but those that make arms, who, instead of paying any thing, receive a stipend from the public.

The fifth is of foldiers, whose only employment is war: they are furnished with all forts of necessaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly supplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free, and dis-

engaged from cares of every kind.

o (f) Arrian de India, p. 3241 328 The old the effection of the that the neglect of the half the there is the neglect of the state of the series of the seri

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with difwho superintend the actions of others, and examine every transaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in these magistrates are, exactness, since-rity, probity, and the love of their country. None of these magistrates, says the historian, have ever been accused of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really sact! However, this observation proves at least that truth and justice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and insince-rity were detested in it.

Lastly, the seventh class consists of persons employed in the public councils, and who share the cares of the government with the sovereign. From this class are taken magistrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or sea; comptrollers of the treasury, receivers, and all who are entrusted with the public monies.

These different orders of the state never blend by marriage; and an artificer, for instance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the class of husbandmen; and so of the rest. None of these can follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another. It is natural to conclude, that this regulation must have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own industry and restexions to those of his ancestors which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many observations might be made on these Indian customs, which I am obliged to omit, for the sake of proceeding in my history. I only intreat the reader to observe, that in every wife government, every well-governed state, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle, (two perpetual and certain sources of riches and abundance) have always been one of the chief objects of the care of those who preside in the administration; and that the neglect of either, is erring

ring against one of the most important maxims in

duffrious, that one would be almost apt to concluyailog I also admire very much that custom of appointing overseers, whether they are known for such or not, who go upon the fpot, in order to inspect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority and the distance from a court frequently give occasion; the only method, at the same time, for a fovereign to know the state of his kingdom, without which it is impossible for him to govern happily the people whom providence has entrufted to his care. This care regards him personally; and those who act under him can no more dispense with the discharge of it, than they can usurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to those of September and October, excessive rains fall very often, whereby the croffing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this season, the armies of Alexander must have fuffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I shall say a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other The elephant exceeds all terrestrial animals in fize. Some are thirteen or fifteen foot high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives fometimes to the age of an hundred or an hundred and twenty years, nay much longer, if some antient writers may be credited. Its nofe, called its trunk (proboscis) is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and serves the elephant instead of a * hand, which it: moves with incredible agility and firength, and thereby is of prodigious service to it. The t elephant, not-

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Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad pastum. Cic. de Nat, Deor. 1. 2. n. 123.

[†] Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vaftior? De Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 97.

withflanding its prodigious fize, is fo tractable and industrious, that one would be almost apt to conclude it were informed with fomething like human reason. It is susceptible of affection, fondness, and gratitude, so far as to pine away with forrow when it has loft its mafter; and even fometimes to destroy itself when it happens to have abused or murdered him in the transport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whose authority is not to be questioned, relates that he had seen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he fruck one after the other in cadence with his trunk : and that the rest danced round him, keeping time with a furprizing exactness, on near min rabou sto odv stods

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He deteribes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians inclose a large spot of ground, with a trench about twenty foot wide, and fifteen high, to which there is access but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf; in order that these animals, who are very subtle, may not suspect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raifed, on the other fide of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themselves in order to watch these animals, and its entrance is very small. In this inclosure two or three tame female elephants are fet. The instant the wild elephants fee or fmell them, they run and whirl about fo much, that at last they enter the inclosure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirst, people enter the inclosure upon tame elephants, and with these they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impossible for them to make a long refistance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having first made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in cafe Wightanding

case they attempt to stir. Being tamed in this manner, they fuffer themselves to be led quietly to the houses with the rest, where they are fed with grass and green corn, and tamed infenfibly by blows and hunger, till fuch time as they obey readily their mafter's voice. and perfectly understand his language. Wood and of the

Every one knows the use that was formerly made of these animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havock in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth or rather tushes furnish us with ivory. But it is time to oldiers and inhabitants, and did

return to Alexander.

(g) This prince having entered India *, all the petty kings of these countries came to meet him, and make their submissions. They declared, that he was the third fon of Jupiter + who had arrived in their country: that they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwife than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happiness to see him, and to enjoy his presence. The king received them with the utmost humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and ferve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæstion and Perdiccas, with part of his forces, commanding them to subdue all who should refuse to submit. But, finding he was obliged to cross several rivers, he caused boats to be built, in fuch a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the feveral parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and lightarmed troops; and, after a flight engagement, he de-

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⁽g) Quint. Curt. 1. 8. c. 9-14. Arrian. 1. 4. p. 182-199. 1. c. p. 195-221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697, 699. Diod. l. 17. p. 557-559 a Juffin. l. 12, c, 7, 8. benchands need benk deidw, als

^{*} Quintus Curtius supposes, that ver, belonged to India, and mode feveral countries on the other fide of part of it. the Indus, but adjacent to that ri-

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feated those who had dared to make head against him, and pursued them to the next city into which they sled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify on a sudden those nations who had not yet selt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his soldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he besieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. But, as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havock of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare

the houses. After subduing this nation, which was of great confequence, he marched towards the city of Nyfa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest that hid it. In the mean time, it grew fo very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt so excessive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted a fally with ill fuccess, a faction arose in the city, fome being of opinion that it would be best for them to furrender, whilst others were for holding out the fiege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they furrendred at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared, that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for fix days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

(b) He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as also those of Acadera, into which he afterwards en-

⁽b) A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.

tred. This obliged him to change his method of war, and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: no refistance was made any where, and those who were fo couragious as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took feveral little cities the instant he fat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river * Choaspes, and lest Coenus to beliege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the drts were discharged against those who de stnatidadni

He afterwards marched towards Magofa, whose king called Affacanus was lately dead, and Cleophes his mother ruled the province and city? There were thirty thousand foot in it, and both nature and art feemed to have united their endeavours in raising its fortifications; for, towards the east, it is surrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are fleep, and difficult of access; and on the west are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which through length of time had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these fail, a trench, of an astonishing height, render. The queen a ruodel aldibarra ai

Whilft Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was shot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon; and, without fo much as binding up the wound mounted his horse, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But, as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried: † Even one swears that I am the son of Jupiter, but my wound makes me sensible that I am a man. However, he did not leave the place till he bad feen every thing, and given, all the necessary orders. Some of the foldiers therefore demolished such houses as stood without the

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city, and with the rubbish of them they filled up the gulphs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge stones into them; and all laboured with so much vigour, that in nine days the works were compleated, and the towers were raised upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, vifited the works, and, after applauding the foldiers for their great dispatch, he caused the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were discharged against those who desended the walls. But that which most terrified the Barbarians, was those towers of a vast height, which seemed to then to move of themselves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that those battering rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never feen, could not be the effect of human strength; fo that, perfuaded that it would be impossible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themselves more seoire there, they fent embaffadors to propose a fur-The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of facrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored and, wethout to much as bindimobgnish tentouned

beliege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition that Hercules having belieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it ries like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, slows at the bottom, its sides being perpendicular and high; and on the other side were

were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians, they were near a forest. This the king had cut down, commanding his foldiers, to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with less difficulty; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morafs. The army feeing this, shouted for joy, and every foldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in feven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no fooner founded, but this prince, who was not maftet of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himfelf first climbing the rock. At this fight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one slew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being fcarce able to keep upon their feet (the rock was fo slippery) fell down the precipices and were dashed to pieces. No fight could possibly be more dismal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be founded. Nevertheless, though he had loft all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing for ward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of infult, made great rejoicings; and continued their festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock and the whole neighbourhood eccho with the found of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were furprized to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians talls

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had lighted them to affift their flight, and to guide them the more eafily in those precipices, during the enfourity of the night. Immediately the whole army. by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives fo much, that several of them, fancying they faw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king have ing to happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered facrifices in their honour.

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From hence he marched and took Ecbolimus; and after fixteen days march arrived at the river Indus. where he found that Hephæstion had got all things read dy for his pallage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheless delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him, with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he pushed forward his horse, came up fingly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him by an interpreter: "That he was come to meet him at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all his forces into his hands. That he furrendered his person and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he was ferfible, fought only with the view of acquiring glory, and dreaded nothing fo much as treachery." The king, greatly fatisfied with the frankness of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and restored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a prefent of fiftyfix elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious fize. Alexander afking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or foldiers? he replied; that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greatest service to him. These two monarchs were Abifares and Porus, the latter of whom was most powerful, and the dominions of both were fituated on the

the other fide of the Hydaspes. Omphis assumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxihus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent presents to Alexander, who did not suffer him. self to be exceeded in generosity.

upon the king, furrendered up to him, purfuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their fovereign; and after each party had promifed fidelity on

both fides, they returned back, vinene and Ill thaim

Alexander expeding that Porus, aftonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to fubmit to him, fent a meffage to that prince, as if he had been his vasfal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus answered with great coldness, that he would do for but it should be fword in hand. At the same time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great fervice were fent to Alexander. He gave the superintendance of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other fide of it, in order to difpute the passage with him; and had posted at the head of his army eightyfive elephants of a prodigious fize, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot; not having, at most, above seven thousand hork. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger fize than any of the reft, and he himfelf exceeded the usual stature of men; for that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and filver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his flature, and he was as wife and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of fo barbarous a people to be with in distribution of supradrad of

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly imperuous, notwith-

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funding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much riolence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel : and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was fo dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses and elephants. Those hideous animals food like fo many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made. might fill the enemy with greater terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted feries of prosperities; but then they did not think it would be peffible for them. as their barks were fo crazy, to furmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety, lambles using this

man This river was full of little islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians used to swim, with their arms over their heads; and flight skirmishes were every day fought in the fight of the two kings, who were well apleafed to make those small excursions of their respecdrive forces, and to form a judgment from fuch fkirmishes, of the success of a general battle. There were ntwo young officers in Alexander's army, Egefimachus bando Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, baying been ever fuccessful, despised dangers of every kinds They took with them the bravest youths in the whole army; and, with no other weapons than their javelins, fwam to an island in which several of the enemy were landed; where, with scarce any other lassistance but their intrepidity, they made a great aflaughter After this bold stroke, they might have deretized with glory, were it possible for rashness, when fuccessful, to keep within bounds. But, as they waited with contempt, and an infulting air, for those who came to fuccour their companions, they were ofurrounded by a band of foldiers, who had fwam unsperceived to the island, and overwhelmed with the dares which were that from far. These who endeavoured

voured to fave themselves by swimming, were either carried away by the waves, or swallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who saw all this from the shore, was surprizingly increased by this success.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice. Accordingly he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle array on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole was but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no further notice of these motions, and only sent scouts to every part of the shore. Alexander, being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross the river in the night, began to

resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in this river, at a confiderable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than any of the rest. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his defign, and therefore he refolved to attempt the paffage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noise at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river; but that he would not attempt this, till fuch time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the island he had posted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horse and foot,

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with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant

they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the shore in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was refolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and splendor with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much refembled the king both in stature and features, especially at fo great a diffance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting the passage in that place. He however was by this time got to the island above mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, whilst the enemy was employed in opposing Craterus. But now a furious from arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for fo fortunate was this prince, that obstacles changed into advantages, and succours in his favour: The storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, infomuch that there was no hearing or feeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his design; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noise, the confusion and the darkness assisted his pasage. He thereupon made the fignal for the imbarkation of his troops, and went off himself in the first boat. It is reported that it was on this occasion he cried out, O Athenians, could you think I would expose myself to such dangers, to merit your applause! And indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his VOL. VI.

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name, than the having his actions recorded by such great historians as Thucydides and Xenophon (i); and so anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wished it were possible for him to return again into the world only so long as was necessary to know what kind of impression the perusal of his history made on the minds of men.

Scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent. because Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppose his pasfage. Immediately this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and feemed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to shore, one excepted, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, confisting of fix thousand foot and five thousand horse. He himself headed the latter; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable dispatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in case the Indians should oppose him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be this as it would, he might eafily continue fighting till his foot should come up; or, that in case the enemy, 1larmed at the news of his passing, should fly, it would then be in his power to purfue, and make a great flaughter of them. one constitle wood berbuild a

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with sour hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men;

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⁽i) Lucian, de conferib, hift, p. 694.

two were armed with bucklers, two bow-men fate on each fide, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheless always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarce stand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his fon, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. However, he at last resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the oppolite shore, he fet out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, fandy foil. in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with eafe, he drew up his army in battle-array, with intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He polled in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at a hundred foot distance one from the other, in order that they might ferve as a bulwark to his foot. who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants and much less their infantry, when they should fee that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were Q 2 posted.

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Alexander being come in fight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after: and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not be led, as they were very much fatigued, againft the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having fufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the figual of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: But his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greateft part of them; and marching against the left wing, fent Coenus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to fir from their pofts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into diforder.

Being come within arrow-flot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's lest wing, in order to throw it into diforder, whilft he himfelf should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their fquadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compals, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Comus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; infomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all fides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Coenus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had

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thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but, that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, furrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themseives and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot fropt by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being ftronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a fecond time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which, the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and consusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, they did not observe their usual order; but, distracted as it were with pain, no longer distinguifhed friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having furrounded the enemy with his horse, made a fignal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed very fuccessfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, whichfustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all fides, at last fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander en-

begge the confusion into Ohich this sudden att

gaged with Porus, croffed the river, and charging the routed foldiers with his troops who were cool and vigo. rous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle. 2010 1 . Wishing doing

The Indians lost on this occasion twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two fons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he loft but fourfcore of the fix thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bow-men of the horse, twenty of his horfe-guards, and two hundred common foland with an august and gracious air, alked him graid

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a foldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, feeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius; who, on a like disaster, was the first that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was eafily diffinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of faving this king, fent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to flop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and feeing it was Taxilus his old enemy; How! fays he, is it not Taxilus that calls, that traiter to his country and kingdom? Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still defirous to fave so brave a prince, and thereupon dispatched other officers, a-MOUNTS

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mong whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who befought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus confented, and accordingly fet forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming advanced forwards in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height *. Porus did not feem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions, ought to acquire him the effeem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he defired to be treated? Like a king, replied Porus. But, continued Alexander, do you ask nothing more? No, replied Porus; all things are included in that fingle word. Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which feemed heightened by diftrefs, did not only restore him his kingdom, but anpexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to lay, whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praife on this occasion. A viewerd belefing and big

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had croffed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory; and the other, Bucephalon, in honour of his horse who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his foldiers as had loft their lives in battle, he for lemnized games, and offered up facrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are aftonished at the rapidity of Alexander's conquests; the ease with which he fur-

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mounts the greatest obstacles, and forces almost impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard of felicity that extricates him out of those dangers into which his rathness plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded he must a hundred times have perished. But to unravel these mysterious kinds of events, feveral of which are repugnant to the usual courfe of things, we must go back to a superior cause, unknown to the profane historians and to Alexander himself. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the mini-Her and instrument of the fovereign disposer of empires, who raifes and destroys them at pleasure. He had received the same orders to overthrow the Persian and eaftern empires, as Cyrus to destroy that of Babylon. The fame power conducted their enterprizes, affured them of fuccess, protected and preserved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commission and compleated their ministry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God spake to Cyrus in Isaiah, (k) Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will cause the loins of kings to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in funder the bars of iron. And I will give the treasures of darkness, and hidden treasures of secret places .- I girded thee, the the haft not known me. This is the true and only cause of the incredible success with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his foldiers had for him, the foreknowledge of his felicity, and his affurance of fuccess, which aftonished his most intrepid captains. n a meadow. I be infrant ther

SECT. XVI. Alexander advances into India. A digression relating to the Brachmans. That prince resolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raises a general discontent in his army. Remonstrances being made to him on that account, he lays aside his design, and is contented with

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going no further than the ocean. He subdues all things in his way thither, and is exposed to great danger at the fiege of the city of the Oxydrace; and arriving at last at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return inwould have concluded he must a hundredoring cathave

(i) A Lexander, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he subdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himself as a conqueror by profession as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with fo much ardour and vivacity, that he feemed to fancy himfelf invested with a personal commission, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to storm all cities, to lay waste all provinces, to extirpate all nations which should refuse his yoke; and that he should have confidered himself as guilty of a crime, had he forbore visiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and desolation wherever he went. He passed the Acetines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two confiderable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the rest, the Caytheans, who were the most valiant and most skilful of those nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a strong city, called Sangala. Alexander fet out against these Indians, deseated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

(1) One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, fome philosophers, called Brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stampt against the ground with their feet. Alexander, furprized at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, " That no

⁽¹⁾ A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326. Q. Curt. lib. 9. cap. 1. (1) Arrian. lib. 7. p. 275, 276, Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. lib. 15. p. 715-717. Plut, in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. lib. 8. cap. 9. 80103

man possessed any more of that element, than he could enjoy: that the only difference between him and other men, was, that he was more restless and ambitious than they, and over-ran all seas and lands, merely to harm others and himself: And yet—he would die at last, and possess no greater a part of the earth than was necessary for his interment." The king was not displeased at this answer: but he was hurried on by the torrent of glory, and his actions

were the very reverse of what he approved.

These Brachmans, says Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the Magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the public sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves, pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the seasons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced for ever.

Their fentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who presides over, and fills it with his majesty, and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philosopher, with some sictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks give them the name of Gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the austerity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the

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fouls of men transmigrate into those of beafts, they abstain from the flesh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brach-They continue whole days standing with their faces towards the fun, and that in the feafon when this planet darts its rays with the greatest violence. Persuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himself oppressed by age or fickness, they hold it glorious to prevent their last hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to those who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to ashes, fhould they go into it otherwise than full of life and vi-Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities and affociate with their own species; and so far from considering self-murther as a virtuous or brave action; they look upon it as a weakness in man not to wait patiently the stroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires in his Tusculan questions the invincible patience, not only of the Indian fages, but also of the * women of that country, who used to contest for the honour of dying with their common husband, This privilege was referved for that wife whom the husband had loved most affectionately; and was given in her favour by the fentence of persons appointed for that purpose, who never gave a judgment till such time as they made a strict examination, and heard the allegations on all fides. The wife on whom the preference was bestowed, ran to meet death, and ascended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilst the surviving wives withdrew in the deepest

the meterialycholis, and believe that the

cujusque earum vir mortuus, in prosequentibus suis, una cum certamen judiciumque veniunt, viro in rogum imponitur : illa quam plurimum ille dilexerit : victa, mæsta discedit. Tusc. plures enim fingulis folent effe Quaft. lib. 5. n. 78.

Mulieres in India, cum est nuptæ. Quæ est victrix ea læta,

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transports of affliction, and with their seven bathed in tears, 4 . thus drive mile that they are it was at that the wind with the care.

The description which (m) Porphyrius has lest us of these philosophers, resembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots and fruits on They abstain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themselves unclean. They spend the greatest part of the day and night in singing hymns in honour of their gods. They fast and pray perpetually. The greatest part of them live alone and in the deepest solitude, and neither marry nor profess any thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as death; and considering this life as a burden, they wait impatiently for the moment when the soul will leave the body.

These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called *Bramins*; and retain in many points, the tradition and tenets of the antient Brachmans.

Alexander, passing near a city wherein feveral of these Brachmans dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to fee them must go to their houses, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not just, to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Bramins, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Oneficritus's cloaths and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, " That anti-

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ently the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with dust; that befides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, honey, oil and wine. That man's guilt had occasioned a change of this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long, painful labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to compassion, he had restored them their former abundance; however, that by the course of things, they seemed to be returning to their antient consusion." This relation shews evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the selicity of the first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

Mandanis, the chief, and as it were, the superior of the band. This Brachman said, "That he thought Alexander worthy of admiration, in seeking thus so for wisdom in the midst of the cares of his government: "that he was the first, who had ever united in himself the two characters of conqueror and phission himself the wisdom which they themselves possessed, "That he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake so long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so remote a country."

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, that they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis assuming a haughty, philosophical tone, answered, That he did not want Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as himself: That he was exempted from want, desire or fear: That so long

Morer yes ides durar ir ox hous pinaroperta.

" as he should live, the earth would furnish him all things necessary for his subsistence, and that death would rid him of a troublesome companion (meaning his body) and set him at sull liberty." Caladus appeared more tractable; and, notwithstanding the opposition and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who re-

ceived him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by history, that this people used often to employ parables and fimilitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was discoursing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wife policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one end of it. The hide being pressed so gave way, and all the other ends flew up: going thus quite round the hide, and preffing the feveral ends of it, he made him observe, that whilft he lowered it on one fide, all the rest rose up, till treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all fides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to refide in the center of his dominions, and not undertake fuch long journies. We shall foon shew the reader, the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

(n) Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilst they should live independent on him, was meditating about passing the Hyphasus. He was told, that after passing that river he must travel eleven days through desarts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the

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⁽n) Q. Curt. l. g. c. 1—g. Arrian. l. 5. p. 221—234. & l. 6. p. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod, l. 17. p. 559—570. Justin. l. 12. c. g. 10. Ganga-

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Gangarida and the Prasi, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, reinforced by two thousand chariots; and, which fruck the greatest terror, with three thousand ele-phants. A report of this being spread through the army, furprized all the foldiers, and raised a general The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through fo many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were incessantly directing their eyes and wishes towards their dear, native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander should every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but just before, inexpressible fatigues, having been exposed to rain accompanied with storms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in fuch terms as raifed compassion; others infolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that fecret affemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill consequences of them, sent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the foldiers together, he made the following speech: " I am not "ignorant, O foldiers, that the Indians have pub-" lished several things, purposely to terrify us; but fuch discourses and artifices are not unufual to you. "Thus the Persians described the straits at Cilicia, " the vast plains of Mesopotamia, the rivers Tygris and Euphrates, as fo many infurmountable difficulties, and yet your bravery conquered them. Do you repent you have followed me thus far? As your glorious deeds have subdued for you a multitude of provinces, as you have extended your conquefts beof youd the Iaxarthes and mount Caucafus; as you fee the rivers of India flow through the midst of your empire; why are you afraid of croffing the Hyof phasus, and of setting up your trophies on the banks of it, as on those of the Hydaspes? What!

can the elephants, whose number is so fally augmented, terrify you to fuch a degree? But has not experience taught you, that they are more destrucet tive to their own masters than to the enemy? Endeavours are used to intimidate you by the dreadful dea of innumerable armies; but are they more numerous than those of Darius ? It is fare very late for you to count the legions of the enemy, after vour victories have made Afia a defart. It was when you croffed the Hellespont that you ought to have reflected on the small number of our forces; but now, the Scythians form part of our army; the Bactrians, the Sogdians and the Dabe are with us, and fight for our glory. I, however, do not depend on those Barbarians. It is on you only that I rely; your victorious arms only are present to "my imagination, and your courage alone affures me fuccess. So long as I shall be surrounded with you in fight, I shall not have any occasion to count the number of my troops nor that of the enemy, provided you go on to battle with the fame marks of joy and confidence you have hitherto discovered. 66 Not only our glory, but even our fafety is at stake. Should we now retreat, it will be supposed that we of fly before our enemies, and from that moment we fiall appear as mean as the enemy will be judged formidable; for you are fensible, that in war reputation is every thing. It is in my power to make a use of authority, and yet I employ entreaties only. Do not abandon (I conjure you) I do not fay your king and mafter, but your pupil and companion in battles. Do not break to pieces in my hand that elections palms which will foon, unless envy rob me coop for great a glory equal me to Herenies and to Bacchus." As the foldiers flood with their eyes cast on the ground, and did not once open their hips; "What! continued he, do I then speak to the deaf? Will no one liften to me, nor condescend to answer! Alas! I am abandoned, I am hetrayed, Must a 66 I am

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" I am delivered up to the enemy. But-I will ad-" vance still further, though I go alone. The Scythians and Bactrians, more faithful than you, will 6 follow me whitherfoever I lead them. Return then to your country, and boaft, ye deferters of wyour king, that you abandoned him. As for myce felf. I will here meet either with the victory you despair of, or with a glorious death, which hence-" forwards ought to be the fole object of my wishes." Notwithstanding this lively, pathetic speech, the foldiers still kept a profound filence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonstrate to the king, that their affection was as strong as ever; but that, as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impossible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them prefumed to address him in their favour. The examples of Clitus, and that of Callifthenes, were still recent. The officers, who were then with him, had a hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the losing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilft therefore the foldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there rose on a sudden a murmur, which increasing by infensible degrees, broke into fuch deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himself, whose anger was now changed into compassion, could not forbear weeping.

At last, whilst the whole assembly were in tears, and in deep silence, Coenus took courage, and drew near to the throne, discovering by his air and action, that he desired to speak. And when the soldiers saw him take off his helmet, that being the custom when any person spoke to the king, they besought him to plead the cause of the army; and accordingly he spoke as sollows: "No, Sir, we are not changed with regard to our affection for you: God forbid that so great a calamity should ever besal us. We shall always re-

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" tain the same zeal, the same affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our is lives, and to march whithersoever you shall think fit to lead us. But if your foldiers may be allowed "to lay before you their fentiments fincerely, and " without difguise, they beseech you to condescend so " far as to give ear to their respectful complaints, which nothing but the most extreme necessity could " have extorted from them. The greatness, Sir, of " your exploits has conquered, not only your ene-" mies, but even your foldiers themfelves. We have done all that it was possible for men to do We " have croffed feas and lands. We shall soon have " marched to the end of the world; and you are me-66 ditating the conquest of another, by going in " fearch of new Indias, unknown to the Indians " themselves. Such a thought may be worthy of your " valour, but it surpasses ours, and our strength still "more. Behold those ghastly faces, and those bodies " covered over with wounds and scars. You are senif fible how numerous we were at your first setting " out, and you fee what now remains of us. The " few, who have escaped so many toils and dangers, " are neither brave nor strong enough to follow you. "All of them long to revisit their relations and coun-" try, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours " and your victories. Forgive them a defire natural " to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have fixed fuch boundaries to your fortune, as only "your moderation could prescribe you; and to have " vanquished yourself, after having conquered all your sity. The altars which he eveded in the altars with

Coenus had no sooner spoke, but there were heard, on all sides, cries and consused voices intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as their lard and their father. Afterwards, all the rest of the officers, especially those who assumed a greater authority because of their age, and for that reason could be better excused the freedom they took, made the same humble request:

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quest: but still the king would not comply with it. It must cost a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himself to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore thut himfelf up two days in his tent, without once speaking to any one, not even to his most familiar friends, in order to fee whether some change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on fuch occasions. But, finding it would be impossible to change the resolution of the foldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpressible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he defigned, for the fake of his fubjects, to facrifice some part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp ecchoed with praises and bleffings of Alexander, for having fuffered himself to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the rest of the world. No triumph is comparable to those acclamations and applaufes that come from the heart, and which are the lively and fincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not spent above three or sour months, at most, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphasus, called to this day Pengab, that is, the five waters, from the five rivers which compose it. Before his setting out, he raised twelve altars, to serve as so many trophies and thanksgivings

for the victories he had obtained. and down box down

These instances of gratitude in regard to the gods were attended with the most incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were 75 feet high. He caused a camp to be marked out three times as large again as his own, and surrounded it with soffes 50 feet in depth by 10 broad. He ordered the foot to prepare and leave each in his tent two beds seven feet and an half in length: and the cavalry to make mangers for the horses of twice the usual dimensions. Every thing else was in proportion.

tion. Alexander's view in these orders, which slowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave posterity monuments of his heroic and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed that himself and his sol-

lowers were fuperior to all other mortals.

He afterwards croffed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphases. He also reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and fettled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. (a) From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Acelines: but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of fickness carried of Cœnus, whose loss was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had diftinguished himself in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of those fingularly good men, zealous for the public, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views, and who bear so great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the confequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet confisted of eight hundred vessels, as well gallies as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades or seven stars, according to Aristobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the sleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines mix their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that great storms arise in this part, as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the Oxydracæ and the Malli, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war one with another; but, having united for their

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⁽e) Arr. in Ind. pag. 319. Strab. lib. 15. pag. 692.

mutual fafety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and sourscore thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in feveral engagements, dispossessed them of fome ftrong holds, and at last marched against the city of the Oxydracæ, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he causes the scaling-ladders to be fet up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the fealingladders from a foldier; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed The foldiers, beonly by Peucestes and Limneus. lieving him in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, feeing himself the butt against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crouded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be possible for him to rife, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poifed his body in fuch a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and, finding himself standing, fword in hand he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a fecond time, not far from thence there flood a great tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprize. and the fire that that from his eyes, had ffruck into At last, an Indian let fly an arrow three the enemy. foot long (that being the length of their arrows) which piercing his coat of mail, entered a confiderable way into his body, a little above the right fide. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropt his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this

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(b) this mighty conqueror, this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him. The Indian, who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transports of joy, to ftrip him; however, Alexander no fooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirst of revenge, he recalled his spirits; and, laving hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his fide. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up that instant, and attempting impossibilities, for the fake of faving their fovereign's life, they form themselves as a bulwark round his body, and fuftain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the foldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate standing between two towers, they, by that means, let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the fword, without distinction of age or fex. and was ved beargams of w

The first care they took, was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the furgeons cut off, fo very dexterously, the wood of the shaft which had been shot into his body, that they did not move the fleel point; and, after undreffing him, they found it was a bearded + arrow; and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unless the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible resolution, so that there was no occasion for people to hold him. The incision being made, and the arrow drawn out, so great an effusion of blood ensued that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being flopt, he recovered by degrees,

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⁽p) Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

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and knew the persons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not stir from their posts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little rest.

At the end of the feven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was closed, as he knew that the report of his death increased among the Barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in fight of every one; purposely to shew himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, going before, at some distance from the rest of the fleet. for fear lest the noise of the oars should keep him from fleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the foldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refused it; and, calling for his horse, mounted him. At this fight, all the shore and the neighbouring forests ecchoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they faw him rife, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, furrounded with a great number of foldiers, some of whom kissed his hands, whilst others clasped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his cloaths, and with feeing him; but all in general burst into tears, and calling for a thousand bleffings from heaven. wished him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity. no man there was no vecesion. virgeled

At this inftant deputies came from the Malli, with the chiefs of the Oxydracæ, being one hundred and fixty, besides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuse for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor,

whom-

whomsoever he pleased to nominated; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hostages. He demanded a thousand of the chief persons of their nation, whom he also might make use of in war, till he had subjected all the country. They put into his hands such of their countrymen as were handsomest and best shaped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded by him, at which the king was so much pleased, that he gave them back their hostages, and

appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embaffy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have loft them for ever. His chief courtiers and most intimate friends thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and ferenity of his mind, for them to unbosom themselves, and expose their fears to him: It was Craterus spoke on this occafion. "We begin, royal Sir, to breathe and live, so now we find you in the condition to which the co goodness of the gods has restored you. But how great were our fears and our griefs! How feverely edid we reproach ourselves, for having abandoned, in fuch an extremity, our king, our father! It was or not in our power to follow him; but this did not extenuate our guilt, and we look upon ourselves as criminals, in not having attempted impossibilities for your fake. But, Sir, never plunge us in fuch deep affliction hereafter. Does a wretched paltry town deferve to be bought at fo dear a price as the co loss of your life? Leave those petty exploits and enterprizes to us, and preferve your person for such occasions only as are worthy of you. We still fhudder with horror, when we reflect on what we fo lately were spectators of. We have seen the moment, when the most abject hands upon earth were coing to feize the greatest prince in the universe, and " despoil him of his royal robes. Permit us, Sir, " to fay, you are not your own mafter, but that you 66 OWE

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owe yourself to us: we have a right over your life. " fince ours depends on it; and we dare take the free-" dom to conjure you, as being your subjects and your " children, to be more careful of fo precious a life, if of not for your own fake, at least for ours, and for the

" felicity of the universe."

The king was strongly touched with these testimonies of their affection, and having embraced them feverally with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as follows: "I cannot enough thank all prefent, who are the flower of my citizens and friends, not only for your having this day preferred my fafety to your own, but also for the frong proofs you have given " me of your zeal and affection from the beginning " of this war; and if any thing is capable of making " me wish for a longer life, it is the pleasure of enjoying, for years to come, fuch valuable friends as " you. But give me leave to observe, that in some "cases we differ very much in opinion. You wish to enjoy me long; and even, if it were possible, for " ever; but as to myfelf, I compute the length of my " existence, not by years, but by glory. I might "have confined my ambition within the narrow li-" mits of Macedonia; and contented with the king-"dom my ancestors left me, have waited, in the " midft of pleasures and indolence, an inglorious old "age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, are "computed, I shall seem to have lived long; but can " you imagine, that after having made Europe and "Afia but one empire; after having conquered the "two noblest parts of the world, in the tenth year of my reign and the thirtieth of my age, that it " will become me to stop in the midst of so exalted " a career, and discontinue the pursuit of glory to "which I have entirely devoted myself? Know, "that this glory ennobles all things, and gives a true " and folid grandeur to whatever appears infignificant. "In what place foever I may fight, I shall fancy myself upon the stage of the world, and in pre-" fence VOL. VI. R

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you we "fence of all mankind. I confess that I have at"chieved mighty things hitherto; but the country
"we are now in, reproaches me that a woman has
"done still greater. It is Semiramis I mean. How
"many nations did she conquer! How many cities
"many nations did she conquer! How many cities
"many nations did she finish! How shameful is it
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This speech gives us a persect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule or end of it. He certainly placed it where it was not. He was strongly prejudiced in vulgar error, and cherished it. He fancied himself born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjust and irregular conduct. In his impetuous sallies after a missaken glory, he followed neither reason, virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and standard to all other men, he was surprized that neither his officers nor soldiers would enter into his views; and lent themselves very unwillingly, to support his ridiculous enterprizes.

Alexander, after having ended his speech, dismissed the assembly, and continued encamped for several days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him upon the banks. He then came among the Sabracæ, a powerful nation of Indians. These had levied fixty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and reinforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander spread a terror through the whole country, and accordingly they sent ambassadors to make their submission. After having built another city which he also called Alexandria,

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dria, he arrived in the territories of Muficanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of king Samus. At the fiege of one of this king's towns Ptolemy was dangerously wounded; for the Indians had poisoned all their arrows and fwords, fo that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the highest love and esteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and caused him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himself might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to some writers, a natural fon of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the bravest men in the army, was highly esteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averfe to luxury. vaftly generous, easy of access, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and prosperity had made the rest of the Macedonian noblemen assume : in a word, it is hard to fay, whether be were more esteemed by his fovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which presented him an herb, as an effectual remedy : and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be fent for, when laying it upon the wound it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army. In bewelloted wrote next

tala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; fo that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, Patala, according to (r) Arrian, signifying in the Indian tongue, the same as Delta in the Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also an harbour and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly un-

⁽⁹⁾ Strab. 1. 15. p. 692. (r) Arrian, in Indic. p. 314. R 2 acquainted.

acquainted. The only confolation they had in this rash enterprize, was, Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had sailed * twenty leagues, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the fea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he befought the failors to row with all their strength, and told the foldiers, "That they at last were come to the end of their toils which they had so earnestly defired; that " now nothing could oppose their valour, nor so add to their glory; that without fighting any more. or spilling of blood, they were masters of the universe; that their exploits had the same boundaries with nature; and that they would be spectators of things, known only to the immortal gods."

Being come nearer the fea, a circumstance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vaft sea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose ebbings are imperceptible, they were very much aftonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country; and confidered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to punish their rafinels. They were no less surprized and terrified fome hours after, when they faw the ebbing of the fea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered, and the Thips being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with cloaths, with broken oars and planks, as afafter teftifying his acknowle.mroft tsarg a rotat

At last Alexander, after having failed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this fight, worthy fo great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he

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had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered facrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the fea the bulls he had flaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and befought the gods, not to suffer any mortal after him, to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had compleated his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his sleet and army, which waited for him at Patala and in the neighbourhood of it.

SECT. XVII. Alexander, in his march through defarts, is grievously distressed by famine. He arrives at Pasagardæ, where Cyrus's monument stood. Orsines, a powerful lord, is put to death by the clandestine intrigues of Bagoas the eunuch. Calanus the Indian ascends a funeral pile, where he puts himself to death. Alexander marries Statira the daughter of Darius. Harpalus arrives at Athens; Demosthenes is banished. The Macedonian soldiers make an insurrection, which Alexander appeases. He recalls Antipater from Macedonia, and sends Craterus in his room. The king's sorrow for the death of Hephæstion.

A Lexander being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commiffion, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledgment upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the sleet, and to go and sound the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph: and, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

⁽s) Arrian. in Indic. p. 334.

(1) Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the fame time with Alexander. It was not yet the feafon proper for failing. It was fummer when the fouthern fea-winds rife; and the feafon of the north-winds. which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not let fail till about the end of September. which was too foon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds fome days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied

from that of Nearchus the admiral, O in bevins el

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the Oritæ, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacis. Here he was in such want of provision, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had confifted of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, Sickness, bad food, and the excessive heats had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a ftill greater havock among the troops in this barren country, which was neither ploughed nor fowed; its inhabitants being favages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eat all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beafts of burthen, and next upon their war-horses: and when they had no beasts left to earry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a difease which generally accompanies famine, compleated the calamity of the foldiers, and destroyed umph of Bacchus, who, as w.ment foresedmun trang

After marching threescore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrofia, where he found plenty of all things: for the foil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men who lay nearest that

(r) Arrian, p. 335. Assist to kinds ton bib another barsus a monitones

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country fent him all kind of provisions. He continued fome time here, in order to refresh his army, The governors of India having fent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burthen, from the feveral kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and foon after presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Perfia, at that time in peace, and in a

very flourishing condition.

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He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade, and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feafts and carouzing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the fides of the roads and at the doors of houses. a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the foldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups and goblets, prepared for that purpose. The whole country echoed with the found of instruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair disheveled, and like so many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves in every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, croffed all Afia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, diffolute march lafted seven days, during all which time the army was never fober. It was very happy, fays Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this R 4

condition:

eondition; for a thousand resolute men, well armed, might with great ease have deseated these conquerors of the world, whilst thus plunged in wine and excess.

(u) Nearchus still keeping along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Indus, came at last into the Perfian gulph, and arrived at the island of Harmusia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days journey from him. Having left the fleet in a fecure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four persons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely deftroyed; and that Nearchus had been fo very happy as to escape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him still more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whose countenances were so much changed, that it was scarce possible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the same time was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. Your fleet, royal Sir, cried he immediately, thanks to the gods, is not lost: upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed, that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the discoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievously oppressed the people of various provinces during his absence: for fully persuaded he would never return, they had exercised every species of rapine, tyranny, cruelty and oppression. But Alexander, strongly affected with their grievances, and

(u) Arrian. in Indic. p. 348-352.

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pierced to the very foul with their just complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of maleadministration, and with them fix hundred foldiers who had been the instruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the fame severity, all such of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, so that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes these examples of severity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive or share in the injustice committed in his name; to the confolation of his fubjects, whom he supplies with a vengeance themselves ought never to exercise; in fine, to the fafety of his dominions, which, by fo equitable an administration, is fecured from many dangers, and very often from infurrections. It is a great unhappiness to a kingdom, when every part of it refounds with exactions, vexations, oppressions, and corruption, and not fo much as a fingle man is purnished, as a terror to the rest; and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on those who ruin them.

The great pleasure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his fuccessful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He proposed no less than to fail, from the Persian gulph, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the streights of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's pillars; a voyage which had been feveral times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have observed elsewhere. It was afterwards his defign, when he should have humbled the pride of Carthage, against which he was greatly exasperated, to cross into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: he next was to go over the Alps, and coast along Italy, where he would have had but a short passage into Epirus, and from thence into Ma-

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cedonia.

cedonia. For this purpose, he sent orders to the viceroys of Mesopotamia and Syria, to build in several parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapsacus, ships sufficient for that enterprize; and he caused to be selled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all deseated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Passagardæ, a city of Persia. Orsines was governor of the country, and the greatest nobleman in it. He descended from Cyrus; and, besides the wealth he inherited from his ancestors, he himself had amassed great treasures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a fignal piece of fervice. The person, who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orifines obferving, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preferved them in the utmost tranquillity till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with prefents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These confifted of a great number of fine managed horses, chariots enriched with gold and filver, precious moveables, jewels, golden vafes of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thousand talents of filver in specie *. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he presented such gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the

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east, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of Orsines's attendants, giving them instructions how to impeach him at a proper season; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrust, letting drop ambiguous expressions of that nobleman, as if by chance; and dissembling very artfully the motives of his discontent. Nevertheless, the king suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the fuffering themselves to be prejudiced and overreached in this manner by their favourites; a danger for common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, (x) affures him, that if he were exempt from this weakness, he may boast himself to be the only man in the world that is fo. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who represent them. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer; and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which sooths their pride. Slander always makes fome impression on the most equitable minds; and leaves behind it fuch dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions, jealousies and distrusts. The artful slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunished; and is sensible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they seldom enquire into fecret calumnies, either from indolence, giddiness, or shame to appear suspicious, fearful or diffident; in a word, from their unwillingness to own, that they were imposed upon, and had abandoned themselves to a rash credulity. In this manner,

⁽x) De Consider. lib. 2. c. 14.

the most unfullied virtue, and the most irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a fad example on the prefent occafion. Bagoas, after having taken his measures at diftance, at last gave birth to his dark design. Alexander, having caused the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the ashes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar: whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and filver, as the Persians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vaftly furprized that so powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas, thinking this a proper time for him to speak, " Are we to wonder, fays he, to find the so tombs of kings fo empty, fince the houses of the " governors of provinces are filled with the gold of which they have deprived them? I, indeed, had never seen this monument; but I have heard Daci rius fay, that immense treasures were buried in it, 66 Hence flowed the unbounded liberality and profu-" fion of Orfines, who, by bestowing what he could " not keep, without ruining himself, thought to make " a merit of this in your fight." This charge was without the least foundation; and yet the magi, who guarded the sepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpose; and nothing was discovered relating to the pretended theft. Their filence, on this occasion, ought naturally to have cleared Orfines.; but the artful, infinuating discourses of Bagoas, had made a deep impression on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an eafy access to it. The accusers, whom Bagoas had suborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orfines, and charged him with the commission of several odious crimes, and among the rest, with stealing the treasures of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought fufficient;

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fufficient; fo that this prince was loaded with chains, before he fo much as suspected that any accusation had been brought against him; and was put to death, without being so much as heard, or confronted with his accusers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in person; and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless examples they read in history of princes, who have been betrayed in the like manner.

I have already faid, that there had followed the king an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wifest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been perfuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. (y) This man, having lived fourfcore and three years, without having been ever afflicted with fickness; and having a very severe fit of the cholic. upon his arrival at Passagardæ, he resolved to put himfelf to death. Resolutely determined not to let the perfect health, he had always enjoyed, be impaired by lingring pains; and being also assured of falling into the hands of physicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he befought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and defired, that after he had ascended it, fire might be set to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might eafily be diffuaded from fo dreadful a defign; but finding, in spite of all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was still inflexible, he at last was obliged to acquiesce with it. Calanus then rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caufed libations to be performed upon himself, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practifed at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims: embraced fuch of his friends as were prefent; intreated them to be merry that day, to feath and carouse with Alexander; affuring them, at the same time, that he

⁽y) Arrian. lib. 7. p. 276. Diod. lib. 7. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

would foon fee that prince in Babylon. After faying these words, he ascended, with the utmost chearfulness, the suneral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his sace; and, when the slame catched him, he did not make the least motion; but, with a patience and constancy that surprized the whole army, continued in the posture in which he at first had laid himself; and compleated his sacrifice, by dying pursuant to the custom practised by the sages of his country.

(z) The historian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with respect to this action. Some condemned it, as suiting only a frantic, senseless wretch; others imagined, he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the sake of being gazed at, and to pass for a miracle in constancy (and these were not mistaken:) in fine, others applauded this salse heroism, which had enabled him to triumph in this man-

ner over forrow and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited feveral of his friends and general officers to supper; and, in compliance with Calanus's request, and to do him honour, he proposed a crown, as a reward for him who should quast most. He, who conquered on this occasion, was Promachus, who swallowed four measures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he survived his victory but three days. Of these guests, forty-one died of their intemperance: a scene, worthy of closing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

(a) From Passagardæ, Alexander came to Persepolis; and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself, for his folly in setting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Susa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to sail up the Euphrates with his sleet; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Susa, he thanks made due to for ha less da Ale

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⁽z) Diodore. (a) Arrian, de Indic. p. 357, 358.

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came down again to the mouth of the Pasi-tigris, and sailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to pass it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods facrifices by way of thanks for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it so far safe, through number-

less dangers. Alexander found in Sufa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, and gave the youngest to his dear Hephæstion. And in order that, by making these marriages more common, his own might not be cenfured; he perfuaded the greatest noblemen of his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they chose from among the noblest families of Persia, about fourfcore young maidens, whom they married. His defign was, by these alliances, to cement so frongly the union of the two nations, that they should thenceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were folemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise seasted all the rest of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not fatisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers debts. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money; he appointed, in his camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near ten thousand talents*; but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers,

^{*} About fifteen bundred thousand pounds,

for their feeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them, * That a king ought never to forfeit bis word with his subjects; nor his subjects suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a prevarication. A truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a single promise; which, in affairs of government, is the most satal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Sufa thirty thousand Persian young men, most of the same age, and called Epigones, that is, successors; as coming to relieve the old foldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia; and had been sent to the governors of fuch cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dreffed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. Thefe came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle-array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards. at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed, Alexander observing these were harrassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the affemblies; he for that reason was desirous of training up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to fayour foreigners too openly. Among the ob a pass those the

during his expedition into India, had appointed gover-

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⁽b) Plut. in Demofth. p. 857, 858.

Βασιλέα άλλο τι η άληθεύειν δοκείν τ βασιλέα. Αμπίαη.
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nor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himfelf with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a loofe to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been entrusted. As foon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, punished very severely fuch of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and for this purpose amassed five thousand talents, that is, about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; affembled fix thousand foldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. (c) Immediately all fuch orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a fmall part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest, but he offered Phocion seven hundred * talents, and even put his person under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained him this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, and intreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor, that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name: † If they resemble me, replied Phocion, the little spot of ground with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to soment and heighten their luxury. (d) Alexander having likewise sent him an hundred talents, Phocion

⁽c) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

^{*} Seven bundred thousand crowns.

[†] Si mei fimiles erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit:

⁽d) Ibid. p. 749.

fin diffimiles funt futuri, nolo meis impenfis illorum ali augerique luxuriam. Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. 1.

An bundred thousand crowns.

asked those who brought them, upon what design Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians? It is, replied they, because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man. Says Phocion, let him suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for.

The reader will suppose, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the persons sent by Harpalus. And indeed he spoke to them in very harsh terms, declaring that he should immediately take such measures as would be very disagreeable to the person on whose errand they came, in case he did not leave off bribing the city; so that Harpalus lost all hopes from that quarter.

Demosthenes did not at first shew more favour to Harpalus. He advised the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjust occasion, and at the same time with

this occasion does honour to Athens, ytill som flas ent tuo

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having observed that Demosthenes took a particular pleasure in viewing one of the king's cups of solid gold, and that he admired the fashion, and the beauty of the workmanship, defired him to take it in his hand, and tell him the weight of it. Demosthenes taking the cup, was surprized at its heaviness, and accordingly asked how much it weighed? Harpalus answered with a smile, Twenty * talents, I believe; and that very evening sent him that sum with the cup: for so great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could discover by the air and certain glances, the soible of a man struck with the charms of gold. Demosthenes could not resist its power; but, overcome by this present, and being t no

governor had received into his city, and thereby dispossessed himself of the command of it. Πλήγεις υπό της δωροδοκίας, ώσπερ παραδεδιγικέν Φρεράν.

longer in Harpalus ping his affembly make a had loft that the a * fquin Harpalu

The had been ted, and was the cover of firates of houses, ried bu out of this occurrence.

decree, powere the first ty to ta into proleft his folution general cast his tears; as were means havious proach

^{*} Twenty thousand crowns.

† The expression in the Greek is full of beauty and spirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demosthenes, to a garrison (of the enemy) which a

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longer master of himself, he joined on a sudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the affembly. The people then ordered him to rise and make a speech, but he refused, making signs that he had lost his voice; upon which some wags cried aloud, that their orator had been seized in the night, not with a * squincy, but an argyrancy; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had suppressed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been fent to Demosthenes, were highly exasperated, and resulted to hear his justification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the maginstrates commanded a strict search to be made in all houses, that of Caricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempt from this enquiry, out of respect to his bride. The politeness shewn on this occasion does honour to Athens, and is not always exercised elsewhere.

Demosthenes, to prove his innocence, proposed a decree, by which the senate of the Areopagus was impowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the first they tried, and fined upon being convicted fifty talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into prison; however, he found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with refolution and magnanimity in his banishment, residing generally at Ægina or Trezena; and every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to drop from him as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which

longer

[#] It is impossible to translate the agreeable play of the Greek words.
Οὐχ ὑπὸ συνώγχης ἔφραζον,

ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀργυράγχης εἰλῆΦθας νύκτως τ δημαγωγόν. † Fifty thousand crowns.

fhews that great men are not such at all times, and on all occasions.

(e) It were to be wished, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias relates, in justification of Demosthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after slying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the first report of Harpalus's slying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a sleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of returning

into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiofity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coasted the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration in the camp, by which all Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to support any longer the satigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the same time give them the strongest proof how greatly they were in his esteem. However, the very contrary happened: for being already disgusted upon some other accounts, especially by the visible preference which

(e) Paufan. 1. 2. p. 148.

OTES

Alexander

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Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his doing this, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was fufficient to exasperate them to surv. Upon which, without obferving the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of infolence which they had never affumed till then, and with feditious cries unanimously demanded to be discharged; saying farther, that fince he defoifed the foldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war against whomsoever, and in what manner they pleased: but as for themselves, they were fully determined not

to ferve him any longer.

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The king, no way surprized and without once hesitating, jumps from his tribunal; causes the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately feized, and orders thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderstruck the Macedonians, suppressed their courage in an instant. Quite amazed and confounded, and scarce daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited, and trembled fo prodigiously, that they were unable either to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-ascended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a fevere countenance and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had diffinguished them, he concluded with these words: You all defire a discharge; I grant it you. Go now and publish to the whole world, that you have left your prince to the mercy of the nations he had "conquered, who were more affectionate to him than " you." After speaking this, he returned suddenly into into his tent; cashiers his old guard; appoints another in its place all composed of Persian foldiers; shuts himself up for some days, and would not see any

lexander appointed Craterus emit ent lla nolreq

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, it could not have furprized them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, fo that nothing was heard but cries, groans and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, throw down their arms, confessing their guilt; acknowledging their fault with tears and fighs; declare that the lofs of life will not be fo grievous as the loss of honour; and protest, that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. At last, Alexander could no longer refift the tender proofs they gave of their forrow and repentance; fo that when he himfelf, at his coming out of his tent, saw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears: and, after some gentle reproaches which were foftened by an air of humanity and kindness, he declared, so loud as to be heard by them all, that he restored them to his friendship. This was reftoring them to life, as was manifest from their fhouts.

He afterwards discharged such Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and sent them back to their native country with rich presents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they should be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there sit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders, that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should receive, during their minority, the same pay which had been given their fathers. Such support and honours granted to veterans, must necessarily ennoble, in a very conspicuous manner, the military profession! It is not possible for a government to enrich every soldier in particular; but it may animate and console him by marks of distinc-

constant motive

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tion, which inspire a stronger ardour for war, more constancy in the service, and nobler sentiments and motives.

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Alexander appointed Craterus commander of these soldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Thessay and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits, instead of Craterus. The king had long since been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aspiring at sovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable disposition; and had often declared in his letters, that she did not behave in a manner suitable to her dignity. It was with some reluctance Antipater resigned his government.

(f) From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ec atana in Media, where, after having dispatched the most urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again folemnized games and festivals: There had come to him from Greece three thousand dancers, makers of machinery, and other persons skilled in diversions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of these festivals, that Hephæstion died of a disease which he brought upon himfelf. Alexander abandoning himfelf to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and fometimes spent whole days and nights in these excesses. In one of them Hephæstion loft his life. He was the most intimate friend the king had, the confident of all his fecrets, and, to fay all in a word, a fecond felf. Craterus only feemed to dispute this honour with him. A few words, which one day escaped that prince, shews the difference he made between these two courtiers. Craterus, says he, loves the king, but Hephastion loves Alexander. This expression signifies, if I mistake not, that Hephæstion had devoted himself, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the person of Alexander; but that Craterus

(f) A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 324.

loved

loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and fometimes was lefs obsequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and interest.

An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæstion was as much beloved by all the courtiers, as by Alexander himself. Modest, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice and jealousy; he never abused his credit, nor preferred himself to those officers, whose merit made them necessary to his sovereign. He was universally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into excessive forrow, to which he abandoned himself in such a manner, as was unworthy so great a king. He seemed to receive no consolation, but in the extraordinary suneral homours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpse.

In order to remove, by business and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army against the Cossai, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Persian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards passed the Tigris, and marched towards Ba-

bylon.

SECT. XVIII. Mexander enters Babylon, contrary to the sinister predictions of the Magi and other sooth-sayers. He there forms the plans of several voyages and conquests. He sets about repairing the breaches made in the peers of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of Belus. He abandons himself to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The universal grief spread over the whole empire upon that account. Sysigambis is not able to survive him. Preparations are made to convey Alexander's corpse to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya.

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(g) A Lexander being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans, who pretended to know futurity by the stars, deputed to him some of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in case he entered that city; and were very urgent with him to go on further. The Babylonish aftrologers were held in such great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. Upon this, after fending feveral of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he stopped for some time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting, in the strongest light, the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him. in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology; and made him have fo great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular. that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. (b) He knew that there were arrived in that city, ambaffadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing so much with the terror of his name, that the feveral nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their fovereign. This view, which agreeably foothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him; so that he fet forward with all possible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the states-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the embassadors, with

⁽g) Arrian. lib. 7. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. lib. 10. c. 4—7. Plut, in Alex. p. 705—707.

⁽b) Diod. lib. 17. p. 577—583. Justin. lib. 12. c. 13—16. Vol. VI.

the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch. and at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince, who is desirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded those of Epidaurus with great presents for the deity who presides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the fame time. A sculapius, says he, has shewed me but very little indulgence, in not preserving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myfelf. In private, he discovered a great friendship for such of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return; and he restored them all the statues and other curiofities which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Sufa, Babylon, Passagarda, and other places. We are told, that among these were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens. nincence, the like of which had never her

The embassadors from Corinth having offered him. in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which feemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained so exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himself upon treading in his fleps, and resembling him in all things. But, cries * Seneca, in what did this frantic young man, with whom successful temerity passed for virtue, refemble Hercules? The latter, free from all felfinterested views, travelled through the world, merely to ferve the feveral nations he vifited, and to purge the earth of fuch robbers as infested it : whereas Alexander, who is justly entitled the plunderer of na tions, made his glory confift in carrying defolation

Quid illi fimile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit. Orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando: malorum hostis, bonorum

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At the same time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publickly in the affembly of the Olympic games, whereby the feveral cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed facrilege, or any other crime deferving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force, against fuch cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the affembly. But, as for the Athenians and Etolians, they did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution, which seemed to interfere with their liberty, bould stow

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Alexander, after having dispatched these affairs. finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephæstion's burial. This he solemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been feen. he himself undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmost in exalting the pomp of it. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia, to extinguish what the Persians call the sacred fire, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended; which was confidered as an ill omen, it being never practifed in Perfia. except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to please Alexander, caused images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the same time the king, having procured a great number of architects and skilful workmen, first caused near fix furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot defigned for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure

erected over it.

one pro viftene erat - ton This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raifed an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree

gentim bocunctis f. lib.

into

wood. The whole formed a perfect fquare, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each fide was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms. in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were fet two hundred and forty-four prows of ships gilded, on the * buttreffes or supporters whereof the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground. were fixed; and two other statues, in an upright posture, compleatly armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the fhafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of thole flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, ferved as capitals. Dragons, fixed near, or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade, flood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party of hunting of animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, representing lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but in an imperceptible manner) with mulicians, who fang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is above an hundred and ninety-five foot.

The beauty of the delign of this structure, the fingularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful

productions

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^{*} In Greek Emwildes, or ears. These are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and the lest of the prow.

productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Staficrates, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanics, in all whose inventions and defigns there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and furprizing boldness, but such a greatness as was scarce conceivable.

(i) It was this artist, who, discoursing some time

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before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would fo well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: That, if he therefore pleased but to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of all statues, and that which would lie most open to the view of the universe. In its left hand it should hold a city, confisting of ten thousand inhabitants; and from its right should pour a great river, whose waters would discharge themselves in the sea. One would have thought that this project would have pleafed Alexander, who fought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheless he rejected it, and wisely answered, that it was enough there was one prince, whose folly mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Isthmus of that mountain, wrote a * letter to it in the most proud and senseless terms. With regard to myfelf, fays Alexander, mount Caucasus, the river + Tanais, the Caspian sea, all which I passed in triumph, shall be my monument.

The expence of the splendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæstion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thousand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thousand pounds. But, what man was ever so ridiculoufly and extravagantly profuse? All this gold, all

^{301 (}i) Plut. de fortun. Alex. ferm. I. p. 335. Proud Athos, who liftest thy bead to beaven, be not so bold as to oppose to my workmen, such rocks and stones as they cannot cut: other-

wife, I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the fea. Plutarch. de ira cohib. p. 555.

† The Iaxarthes is here meant.

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this filver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the substance of provinces, which were thus facri-

ficed to a vain oftentation. ballot og or at don't a built

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceased friend, something was still wanting to the honours he paid him, to raise them above human nature; and this was what he proposed, and for that purpose had fent to the temple of Ammon, a trusty person, named Philip, to enquire the will of the god. It doubtless was the echo of that of Alexander; and the answer was, that facrifices might be offered to Hephæstion, as a demi-god. These were not spared in any manner; Alexander himself first setting the example, when he made a great feast, to which upwards of ten thousand persons were invited. At the same time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the isse of Pharos. In this letter (which is still extant) to excite his diligence, and haften the work, he grants the governor, who was despised universally for his injustice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, paft, prefent and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city fhould be compleated. And now nothing was feen but new altars, temples and festivals; no oaths were administred but in the name of the new deity: to question his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer (a friend of Hephæstion) having bewailed him as dead, in paffing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been affured, that the officer wept, merely from fome remains of tendernels, and not as doubting Hephæssion's divinity. I cannot fay, whether Alexander prevailed fo far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæstion's divinity; but he himfelf appeared, or at least endeavoured to appear, firmly perfuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himself could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

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During almost a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects in his mind; such as to go round Africa by sea; to make a compleat discovery of all the nations lying round the Caspian sea, and inhabiting its coasts; to conquer Arabia; to make war with Carthage, and to subdue the rest of Europe. The very thoughts of sitting still satigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never suffer him to be at rest; may, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have sought a new one, to satiate the avidity of his desires.

The embellishing of Babylon also employed his thoughts very much. Finding it surpassed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wished, either for the necessities or pleasures of life, all the other cities of the east, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose, was desirous of adding to

it all the conveniencies and ornaments possible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had suffered prodigiously by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its usual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at last so wide, that it would have cost almost as much to repair the bank, as the raising of it had done at first. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates, about Babylon, that there was scarce depth enough for small boats, which consequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpose he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occasion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, insulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; since, notwithstanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with (as if he had been a credulous woman) he how-

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ever had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very fafe. Attentive to nothing but the subject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This defign of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and a half) was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the foil; and the death of this prince, which happened foon after, put an end to this project and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was, the curse which God had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. (k) I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, had the Lord of hofts fworn above three hundred years before : I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water : and I will fweep it with the before of destruction - (1) It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation - neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. Heaven and earth would fooner have paffed away, than Alexander's defign been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city as well as the country about it, were to be covered

(k) Ifa. c. 14. v. 22, 23. (l) Chap. 13. v. 20.

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with stagnated waters, which should make all access to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies; and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be compleatly suffilled; (m) for the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disamul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back? Nothing shews more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince, the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whose enterprizes none had ever miscarried; and who sailed in this only, tho' it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another defign which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it in his return from Greece, and it had laid in ruins ever fince. Now Alexander was refolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had caused all the rubbish to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but flowly, he made his foldiers work. Notwithstanding ten thousand of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of this prince, so prodigious were its ruins. (n) When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their affistance; but excused themselves with faying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to affift in building of a temple, defigned for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no purpose; so that, at last, Alexander admiring their

⁽m) Isa. ch. 14. v. 27. (n) Josephus contra Appion. lib. 1.

^{*} See what is faid on this subject in the history of Cyrus,

perseverance, discharged and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many christians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that

is contrary to the law of God. Or you sa such slody

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of providence on this occasion. God had broke to pieces, by the hand of his fervant Cyrus, the idol * Belus, the god who rival'd the Lord of Israel: He afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himfelf in the works above mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greatest part of his time in fuch pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupify himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other foothfayers: For though in certain moments he feemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however feriously affected with them inwardly; and these gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at last to fuch a degree, that whenever the most infignificant thing happened, (if ever fo little extraordinary and unusual) his imagination swelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with facrifices, with perfons whose office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to prophecy. It was certainly a spectacle worthy a philosophic eye, to fee a prince, at whose nod the world trembled, abandoned tarch, creduli any the whose ridicul God, before the co to set to the actions admire thing him u

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doned to the strongest terrors; so true is it, says Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear or believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the superstitious man, whose foul is a prey to the most abject fears, the most ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that God, by a just judgment, took a pleasure in degrading. before all ages and nations, and in finking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to fet himfelf above human nature, and equal himfelf to the Deity. This prince had fought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conquests which men most admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing else, the idea of grandeur: and God delivers him up to a ridiculous superstition, which virtuous men of good fense and understanding despise most, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever folemnizing new festivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his usual intemperance. After having fpent a whole night in caroufing, a fecond was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every perfon in company, and then pledged them feverally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup which held fix bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas; by name; and afterwards pledged him again, in the fame furious bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it. but he fell upon the floor. Here then, cries * Seneca. (describing the fatal effects of drunkenness) is this; hero; invincible to all the toils of prodigious marches to the dangers of fieges and combats, to the most violent extremes of heat and cold; here he lies, conque-

transierat, tot flumina ex ignoto condidit, Senec. Epift. 83.

^{*} Alexandrum tot itinera, tot cadentia, tot maria tutum dimi'eprælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa runt ; intemperantia bibendi, & temporum locorumque difficultate, ille Herculaneus ac fatalis fcyphus

red by his intemperance, and ftruck to the earth by the fatal cup of Hercules en the len atemila

In this condition he was feized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some good intervals, in which be gave the necessary orders for the failing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being perfuaded he thould foon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corple to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithstanding * his great weakness, he however fruggled with death, and raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers (to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship) his dying hand to kifs. After this, his principal courtiers asking to whom he left the empire? he answered, To the most worthy; adding, that he forefaw the decision of this would give occasion to strange funeral games after his decease, And Perdiccas, enquiring further at what time they should pay him divine honours? He replied, When you are happy. These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the fpring, the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad. A reduced A redied W

(a) No one, fays Plutarch and Arrian, fuspected then that Alexander had been poisoned; and yet it is at this time that fuch reports generally prevail. But the state of his body proved that he did not die that way: for all his chief officers difagreeing among themselves, the corpse, though it lay quite neglected

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⁽⁶⁾ A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 328.

Quanquam violentia morbi reret, que jam fato oppressa, dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen maximi exercitus complexui, huerectus, dextram omnibus, qui manitate quam spiritu vividiore, eam contingere vellent, porrexit. fufficit ? Val. Max. 1. 5. c. 1. Quis autem illam ofculati non cur-

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for feveral days in Babylon, which stands in a hot climate, did not shew the least fymptoms of putrefaction. The true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands befides Alexander. It was nevertheless believed afterwards, that this prince had been poisoned by the treachery of Antipater's fons: That Caffander, the eldeft of them, brought the poison from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly chose the time of the great feaft mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank, might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs at that time gave fome grounds for this suspicion. He was perfuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his male-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his fons to commit a crime, which would fave his own life, by taking away that of his fovereign. An undoubted circumstance is, that he could never wash out this stain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians detefted him as a traytor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison, or by excessive drinking, it is surprizing to see the prediction of the Magi and foothfayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, fo exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indisputable, that God has referved to himself only the knowledge of futurity; and if the foothfayers and oracles have fometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it no other way than by

It is presended that this poison ever vessel receives it, those excepted was an extremely cold water, which are made of a mule's boof. which distils drop by drop, from a We are told, that it was brought rock in Arcadia called Nonacris, for this borrid purpose from Greece Very little of it falls; and it is so to Babylon, in a veffel of the latter fort.

wastly sharp, that it corrodes what-

their impious correspondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural fagacity, find out feveral methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human understanding, are yet not above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge * those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and defire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inspiration to which they are fure those wicked persons will consent: by these things. devils are enabled to foresee and foretel certain particulars. They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but + God also sometimes permits them to succeed in them, in order to punish the impiety of those, who, in contradiction to his commands, enquire their fate of fuch lying spirits. I hoold her rembbed did to

The moment that Alexander's death was known. the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanguished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Perfians declared him to have been the most just, the kindest sovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the best, the most valiant prince in the universe; and all exclaimed against the gods, for having enviously bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age and the height

ut omnipotens & justus, ad eorum pænam quibus ista prædicunturocculto apparatu ministeriorum sutalia fuadentibus confenfuri. Sua- orum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat. S. Aug. de Div. Quaft, ad Simplic.

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^{*} Dæmones perversis (folent) malefacta fuadere, de quorum moribus certi funt quòd fint eis dent autem miris & invisibilibus modis. S. August. de Divinat. Aug. de Div. Q Dæmon. p. 509. l. 2. Quæst. 3.

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Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, still lead them on to battle, besiege cities, climb walls, and reward such as had distinguished themselves. They then reproached themselves for having resused him divine honours; and confessed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he so justly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themselves, and on the sad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They considered, that they were on the further side, (with respect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them; and surrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his successor, a dreadful suturity presented itself to their imagination; and exhibited nothing but divisions, civil wars, and a fatal necessity of still shedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Asia, but only to give a king to it; and to raise to the throne perhaps some mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but spread over all the provinces; and the news of it soon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her, who being still inconsolable for the death of Hephæstion her husband, the sight of the public calamity recalled all her private woes. But Sysigambis bewailed the several misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awaked the remembrance of all its former sufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but just dead, and that this unfortunate mother solemnized the suneral of two sons at the same time. She wept the living no less than the dead:

Who now, would she say, will take care of my daughters? Where shall we find another Alexander? She would sancy she saw them again reduced to a state of

capti-

captivity, and that they had loft their kingdom a fecond time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone they had no refuge left. At last, she funk under her grief. This princess who had borne with patience the death of her father, her husband, of fourscore of her brothers who were murdered in one day by Ochus; and to fay all in one word, that of Darius her fon, and the ruin of her family; though she had, I fay, submitted patiently to all these losses, the however had not strength of mind sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander. She would not take any fustenance, and starved herfelf to death to avoid her furviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions arose among the Macedonians, about appointing him a fucceffer, of which I shall give an account in the succeeding volume. After feven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Arideus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king; and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Arideus, and that Perdiccas should have the care of both; for Arideus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corple after their manner, Arideus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter Ammon.
(p) Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her fon, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meanest of

mortals.

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⁽p) Ælian. l. 13. c. 30. Luxuria, induffria ; comita- ... victor inductat, Tpectetur, ... arrogantia ; malis bonisque armanis fimilis qu'un Alexandro in hes mixtus Tacm Italiam venifict, & exercitum Ma-Et logoimer de Alexandro

SECT. XIX of The judgment we are to form of sheet Alam Alexander.

THE reader would not be fatisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not take notice of the judgment we are to form of them; especially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions, with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of extasy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to have prevailed: Others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours, as at least sully, if not quite

eclipse, the splendor of his victories.

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This diversity of sentiments denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in * the prince whose history we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or feafons in which we consider him, as Livy has very justly obferved. In the enquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, fuppofing he had turned them towards Italy, he + discovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wife, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the same time prudent and circumspect: the other, immersed in all the wantonness of an haughty profperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; foftned by delights, abandoned to intemperance and excesses; in a word, resembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Persians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he affumed after his conquests.

* Luxuria, industria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus. Tacit.

† Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior suit. Qui si ex habitu novæ fortunæ, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod fibi victor induerat, spectetur, Dario magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam venisset, & exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores adduxisset. Liv. 1, 9, n. 18.

I shall

I shall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and shall consider it under two aspects, and, in a manner, two æras; first, from his youth till the battle of Issus, and the siege of Tyre which followed soon after; and secondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities, with sew desects (according to the idea the heathens had of these;) the second will represent to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendor of so many victories, very little true and solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a sew battles excepted, in which he suffaced his reputation.

FIRST PART.

We are first to acknowledge and admire in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous foul. (q) He delighted in bestowing and doing fervice, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that fubject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, And am I then to have no ball? No, fir, replied the lad, you do not ask me for it. This witty and ready answer gave great fatisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with fuch as refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, that he would no longer be his friend, in case he refused to accept of his fa-

Alexander, as if he had been fensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on

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⁽²⁾ Plut, in Alex. p. 687.

all occasions, and appear more conspicuous than any other person. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is confidered by christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves in the exercises -both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young foldiers. 20 2011

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very conversant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the most abstracted and most sublime sciences. How happy was he in meeting with so great a preceptor! None but an Aristotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the disciple pay so illustrious a testimony in respect to his master, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one fense, than to his father. A man, who thinks and speaks in this manner, must be fully fensible of the great advantages the life answers on earlier

The effects of this were foon feen. Is it possible for us to admire too much the great folidity and judgment which this young prince discovered in his conversation with the Persian ambassadors? His early wisdom, whilft, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's absence, and pacified the feuds which had broke out in Macedonia? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he fo gloriously distinguished told him by letter, that he afflemid

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It is a pain to me, to fee him wanting in respect to his father at a banquet, and employing fevere, infulting expressions on that occasion. It is true indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias his mother, in divorcing her, transported him in a manner out of himself; but still no pretence, no injustice or

violence.

violence, can either justify or excuse such usage to a father and a king.

(r) He afterwards discovered more moderation, when, on occasion of the insolent and feditious discourses held by his foldiers in an infurrection, he faid, That nothing was more royal, than for a man to hear with calmness himself ill spoken of, at the time he is doing good. It has been observed, that the great prince of (5) Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtiness with which he spoke to the rebellious foldiers, who refused to follow him: Go, says he, ungrateful, base wretches, and proclaim in your country that you have abandoned your king among nations, who will obey him better than you. " Alexander (fays that prince) a-66 bandoned by his own troops among Barbarians, who were not yet compleatly conquered, believes himself so worthy of commanding over others, that 46 he did not think men could refuse to obey him. 66 Whether he were in Europe or in Afia, among Greeks or Persians, it was the same to him. He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found fubse jects." Alexander's patience and moderation, which I took notice of at first, are no less wonderful.

The first years of his reign are perhaps the most glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appeale the intestine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either crushed or subjected foreign enemies, and those of the most formidable kind; that he difarmed Greece, most of the nations whereof had united against him; and that in less than three years, he should have enabled himself to execute fecurely those plans his father had so wisely projected; all this supposes a presence of mind, a strength of foul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a confummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero. int, de fortun Alex. Oras

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⁽r) Plut. in Alex. p. 688.

⁽s) St. Evremond.

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This character he supported in a wonderful manner. during the whole course of his expedition against Darius, till the time mentioned by us. (t) Plutarch very juftly admires the bare plan of it, as the most heroic act that ever was. He formed it the very instant he ascended the throne, looking upon this design, in some measure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When scarce twenty years old, surrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom. finding his treasury drained and incumbered with debts. to the amount of two hundred * talents, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Persians: in this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Sufa, and propofes no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth, asks Plutarch? Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprize with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance and courage; preparations and aids, with which philosophy supplied him, and which he thoroughly studied; fo that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquest to the dessons of Aristotle his master, as to the instructions of Philip his father. anithmen set shares of olds saw

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprize must naturally be fuccessful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, confisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long course of years, enured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by

^{[(}t) Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. 1. p. 327. Toff Plate in Alaxi p. 685-

[#] About thirty thousand pounds,

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the hopes of an immense booty; and more so, by their hereditary and irreconcileable hatred to the Persians; such an army, I say, headed by Alexander, was almost sure of conquering an army, composed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of sew soldiers.

The swiftness of the execution was answerable to the wildom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality; and all his foldiers by an air of goodness, affability and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him such a zeal and tenderness as is proof against all things: after this, I say, the next thing to be done, was, to astonish his enemies by bold enterprizes, to terrify them by examples of feverity; and laftly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these. The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated fieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus, shewed Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the last city to the very foundations spread an universal terror; but the allowing all those the enjoyment of their liberties and antient laws, who submitted chearfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting vailing arts of Police, who always acted ferrerly . sasq

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we must not judge of it from the manners of the present age. The ancients, all whose exercises were relative to those of war, accustomed themselves early to bathing and swimming. It is well known that, in Rome, the sons of the nobility, after having heated themselves in the Campus Martius, with running, wrestling, and hurling the javelin, used to plunge into the Tyber, which runs by that city. By these exer-

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cifes they enabled themselves to pass rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for those are never crossed, but after painful marches, and after having been long exposed to the fun-beams, which, with the weight of the foldiers arms, must necessarily make them Iweat. Hende we may apologize for Alexander's bathing himfelf in a river which had like to have been fo fatal to him, especially as he might not know that the waters of it were fo excessively cold.

The two battles of Issus and Arbela, with the siege of Tyre, one of the most famous of antiquity, entirely proved, that Alexander possessed all the qualities which form the great foldier; as skill in making choice of a field of battle; fuch a presence of mind in the heat of action, as is necessary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the most evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by fuch a prudent refervedness, as will not fuffer the hero to be carried away by an indifcreet ardour; lastly, such a resolution and constancy as is neither disconcerted by unforeseen obstacles, nor discouraged by difficulties, though feemingly unfurmountable, and which know no other bounds or iffue but victory.

Historians have observed a great * difference between Alexander and his father in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted fecretly, and in the dark; but his fon purfued his schemes with more candour, and without difguise. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to subdue them by force of arms. The former discovered more art, the latter had a greater foul. lip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to sathing and fwimming. It is well known that, in

⁽u) Paufan. 1. 7. p. 415. villidon and to anol and amo?

^{*} Vincendi ratio utrique diver-fa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella hostibus, hic palam fusis, Pru- Juftin, lib, 9. cap. 8.

dentior ille confilio, hie animo magnificentior — Nulla apud tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere Philippum turpis ratio vincendi.

conquest, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail with himself to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ablest of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his soldiers, upon the severest penalties, not to make the least havock in them. His design, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his side, or to make the Persians suspect his sidelity. (x) Memnon also delighted in behaving with generosity towards Alexander; and hearing a soldier speak ill of that prince: I did not take thee into my pay, says that general, striking him with his javelin, to speak injuriously of that prince,

but to fight against him.

The circumstance which raises Alexander above most conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is the use he made of victory after the battle of Issus. This is the most beautiful incident in his life: is the point of fight in which it is his interest to be considered, and it is impossible for him not to appear truly great in that view. By the victory of Issus, he had possessed himself, not only of Darius's person, but also of his empire. Not only Syfigambis, that king's mother, was his captive; but also his wife and daughters, princeffes whose beauty was not to be paralleled in all Asia, (y) Alexander was in the bloom of life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author observes of the first Scipio Africanus, on a like occasion. Nevertheless, his camp was, to those princesses, a facred asylum, or rather a temple, in which their chaftity was fecured, as under the guard of virtue itself, and so highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wish success to so wife and

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⁽x) Plut. in Apoph. p. 174. & victor. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

⁽y) Et juvenis, & cælebs,

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In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I must not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheless does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: this is, his being informed with a foul capable of a tender friendship; his openness, truth, perseverance and humility in so exalted a fortune, which generally considers itself only, makes its grandeur consist in humbling all things around it; and is better pleased with service wretches, than with free, sincere friends.

Alexander endeared himself to his officers and soldiers; treated them with the greatest familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exercises and conversations, was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when fick, rejoiced at their recovery, and shared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæstion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit, does no ways debase his dignity, by such a familiarity and condescension; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and respected upon that very account. Every man of a tall stature, does not scruple to put himself upon a level with the rest of mankind, well knowing that he shall over-top them all. It is the interest of truly diminutive persons only, not to vie in stature with the tall, nor to appear in a croud.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumstance made the soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, the attended with the greatest difficulties and dangers: this made them submit patiently to the severest hardships, and threw them into the deepest affliction whenever they happened to give him any room for discontent.

In this picture that has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to compleat his glory? Military Vol. VI.

virtue has been exhibited in its utmost splendor: goodnels, clemency, moderation, and wildom have crowned it, and added fuch a luftre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us suppose, that Alexander, to secure his glory and his victories, stops short in his career; that he himself checks his ambition, and raises Darius to the throne, with the same hand that had dispossessed him of it; makes Asia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Persia; that he declares himself protector of all the cities and states of Greece, in no other view than to fecure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their respective laws and customs: that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight confift in rendering his people happy, in procuring it an abundance of all things, in feeing the laws put in execution, and making justice flourish; in causing virtue to be had in honour, and in endearing himfelf to his subjects: in fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more fo by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world; he fees himself, in some measure, the arbiter of all nations, and exercises, over the minds of men, such an empire, as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: supposing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever bleffed mankind.

To the forming fo great a character, a greatness of foul, and a most refined taste for true glory are required, such as is seldom met with in history. Men generally do not * confider, that the glory which attends the most shining conquests, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has despised and tram-

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sempiterna sit gloria ---- Arcus, finitæ potentiæ domitor ac fræna-& statuas, aras etiam templaque tor animus ipsa vetustate florescit. demolitur & obscurat oblivio : con- Plin, in Pan, Trajan,

^{*} Scis ubi vera principis, ubi trà, contemptor ambitionis, & in-

pled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to universal power. But Alexander, was far from possessing these happy qualities. His uninterrupted selicity, that never experienced adverse fortune, intoxicated and changed him to such a degree, that he no longer appeared the same man; and I do not remember that ever the poison of prosperity had a more sudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

SECOND PART.

From the siege of Tyre, which was soon after the battle of Issue, in which Alexander displayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior; we see the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a sudden, and make way for the greatest vices and most brutal passions. If we sometimes, through the excesses to which he abandons himself, perceive some bright rays of humanity, gentleness, and moderation, these are the effects of a happy disposition, which, not being quite extinguished by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterprize more wild and extravagant, than that of croffing the fandy defarts of Libya; of exposing his army to the danger of perishing with thirst and satigue; of interrupting the course of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raise a new army, merely for the sake of marching so far in order to get himself named the son of Jupiter Ammon; and purchase at so dear a rate a title, which could only

render him contemptible?

(2) How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word which fignifies bealth *, except in those he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, because employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at least to wish

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⁽z) Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

^{*} Kaigew.

all his fubjects, the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word. boy that word as is generally fuppeled brown the

Of all vices, none is fo groveling, none fo unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenness; its bare name is intolerable, and frikes us with horror. How infamous a pleasure is it, to fpend whole days and nights in carousing, to contime these excelles for weeks together; to pride one's felf in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain such a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend these debauches, how greatly shocking is it to hear the frantic discourses of a son, who, being bintoxicated with the fumes of wine, industriously frives to defame his father, to fully his glory, and, vloft to all shame, prefer himself to him? Drunkenness is only the occasion, not the cause, of these excesses. It betrays the fentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and infatiable of praise, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and despising all mankind, has the power, in his fober moments, to conceal his fentiments a but fooner is he intoxicated, than he shews himself to be what he really is.) revo believely exercised over likely bad

What shall we say of his barbarously murthering an old friend; who, the indiscreet and rash, was yet his friend? Of the death of the most honest man in all his court, whose only crime was his resusing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two off his principal officers, who were condemned, the nothing could be proved against them, and on the slightest sufficients?

I pass over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to most historians, gave into, and which are not to be justified. To speak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities in which he is generally considered, and which have gained him the esteem of all ages and nations; all we

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now have to do is to examine, whether this efteen be fo well grounded as is generally supposed.

I have already observed, that, to the battle of Issus, and the fiege of Tyre inclusively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illuftrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during these first years of his exploits, he ought to be confidered in a more conspicuous light than his father; whose actions, though not so dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and those of the military profession. Philip, at his accession to the throne, found all things unfettled. He himfelf was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not supported by the least foreign affistance. He raised himself to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his foldiers but his officers; to inftruct them in all the military exercises; to inure them to the satigues of war; and, to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the rife of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the best troops the world had then ever feen, and to which Alexander owed all his conquests. How many obstacles stood in Philip's way, before he could possess himfelf of the power, which Athens, Sparta and Thebes had fuccessively exercised over Greece! The Greeks, who were the bravest and most fagacious people in the universe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through feas of blood, and by gaining numberless conquests over them. Thus we fee, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great design; the plan whereof, and the most excellent instructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much easier task, to subdue Asia with Grecian armies, than to subject the Greeks who had o fo often triumphed over Afia la ou or son are doing

But, without carrying further the parallel of Alexev ander with Philip, which all, who do not confider heroes according to the number of provinces they have quered, but by the intrinsic value of their actions, must give in favour of the latter: what judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it possible to propose him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of those who aspire to the character of great soldiers and

illustrious conquerors?

In this enquiry, I shall begin with that which is unanimously agreed by all the writers on this subject, to be the foundation of the folid glory of a hero; I mean, the justice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an usurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Asia the feat of war, and turning his arms against Darius, had a plaufible pretence for it; because the Persians had been in all ages, and were at that time professed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generalissimo, and whose injuries he therefore might think himself justly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the least injury? The Scythian ambassador spoke very judiciously, when he addressed him in these words: What have we to do with thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods, allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the place from whence thou comest? Thou boastest that the only design of thy marching, is to extirpate robbers : thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world. This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate spake to him to the same effect, and in stronger terms. Alexander asked * him what right be

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Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magna classe, imperator. Refert Nonius Marc. ex Cicer. 3. de rep. ber; fleet and this

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^{*} Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet insestum; ille, libera contumacia:

had to infest the seas: The same that thou hast, replied the pirate with a generous liberty, to infest the universe: but because I do this in a small ship, I am called a robber; and because thou actest the same part with a great sleet, thou art entitled conqueror. This was a witty and just answer, says (a) St. Austin, who has preserved

this small fragment of Cicero.

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If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim. and no reasonable man can doubt of its being so, that every war undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjust; and that the prince, who begins it, is guilty of all the fad confequences, and all the blood shed on that occasion; what idea ought we to form of Alexander's last conquests? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come * from a little spot of ground; and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conquests; has subdued, not only the Persians, but also the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: after all this, I fay, he still finds himself pent up; and determined to force, if possible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to discover a new world, and does not scruple to facrifice millions of men to his ambition or curiofity. It is related that + Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philosopher's telling him that there were an infinite num-

(a) S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, 1. 4. c. 4.

* Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, & ad ignota mittebat — Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit: (or congessit) jam Græci Persæque eundem timent: jam etiam à Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Hereulis Liberique vestigiis victoriam sectere: ipsi naturæ vim parat— &, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit. Tanta est cæcitas mentium, & tanta initiorum suozum

oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non fine controversia Dominus, detecto fine terrarum, per suum rediturus orbem, tristis est. Senec. Epist. 94. & 119.

† Alexandro pectus infatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho— innumerabiles Mundos effe referenti; Heume, inquit, miserum, quòd ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum! Angusta homini possessio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio suffecit. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 14.

number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in + Seneca, to compare these pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwise than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waste and destroy all things; or to wild beafts who live merely by blood and

flaughter?

courage railes and re-Alexander * passionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature or just bounds, prided himfelf upon treading in the steps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What resemblance was there, says the same Seneca, between that wife conqueror, and this frantic youth, who mistook his successful rashness for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conquests for himself. He over-ran the universe as the subduer of monsters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the restorer of peace by land and sea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjust robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happiness and glory confift in rendering himself formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fiercest animals, but even the vilest, make themselves seared by their poisons.

But, leaving this first confideration, which reprefent conquerors to us, as fo many scourges sent by the

† Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere peffes mortalium, quam inundatio-quam conflagratio. Senec. Nat. Quaft. lib. 3. in Prafat.

* Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec medum noverat, Herculis vestigia sequens, ac ne ibi quidem refistens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Hereuli) fimile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat fælix temeritas? Hercules nihil fibi vicit : orbem terra-

rum transivit, non concupiscendo, fed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum heftis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator? At hic à pueritia latro, gentiumque vaftator, tam hostium pernicies quam amicorum, qui fummum bonum duceret terrori esse cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferocissima tantur fed ignavissima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum, Senec. de Benef. 1, 1. c. 13.

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wrath of heaven into the world, to punish the fins of it; let us proceed to examine the last conquests, abstractedly in themselves, of Alexander, in order to see what judgment we are to form of them.

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It must be confessed, that the actions of this prince diffuse a splendor that dazzles and astonishes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthusiastic courage raises and transports all who read his history, as it transported himself. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour, to a boldness that is equally blind, rash and impetuous; a boldness void of all rule, that will never listen to the voice of reason, and has no other guide than a senseless ardor for falle glory, and a wild defire of diffinguishing itfelf, be the methods ever fo unlawful? This character fuits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whose life is only exposed; and who, for that reason, may be employed in some desperate action: but it is far otherwise with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his whole kingdom. If we except some very rare occasions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his person, and share the danger with his troops in order to preferve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private foldier. True valour is not defirous of displaying itself; is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is folely intent in preferving the army. It steers equally between a fearful wisdom, that forefees and dreads all difficulties; and a brutal ardor, which industriously pursues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accomplished general, prudence must foften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter must animate and warm the coldness and flowness of prudence.

Do any of these characteristics suit Alexander? When we peruse history, and follow him to sieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his safety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being destroyed. Here we

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fee a rapid flood, which is going to draw in, and swallow up, this conqueror: there we behold a craggy rock, up which he climbs, and perceives round him soldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge stones into precipices. We tremble, when we perceive in a battle the ax just ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone, in a fortress, whither his rashness had drawn him, exposed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever persuaded, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreasonable, as Plutarch observes; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at last are weary of guiding and preserving rash mortals, who abuse the assistance they afford them.

(b) Plutarch, in a † treatife where he makes the elogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accomplished hero, gives a long detail of the several wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only design of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conspicuous. A renowned warrior, whose elogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. (c) Some persons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himself declared, that it was a fault which could be excused only in a young man, and justly deserved censure. It has been observed in Hannibal's praise, and I myself have taken notice of it elsewhere, that he was never wounded * in all his battles. I cannot say, whether

Cæsar ever was.

The last observation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Asia, must necessarily lessen of

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⁽b) Plut. de fortun. Alex. orat. 2. p. 341. (c) Timotheus. Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

[†] This treatile, if written by * Mention is made but of one Plutarch, seems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of a declamation.

very much the merit of his victories, and the splendor of his reputation; and this is the gentus and character of the nations against whom he fought. Livy, in a digression where he enquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them towards Italy; and where he shews that Rome would certainly have checked his conquests, infifts strongly on the reflection in question. He opposes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illustrious Romans, who would have refisted him on all occasions; and, in the article of prudence, that august senate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus his fovereign, faid, was composed of fo many kings. " Had he * marched, fays Livy, " against the Romans, he would soon have found, that he was no longer combating against a Darius, " who, encumbred with gold and purple, the vain " equipage of his grandeur, and dragging after him a multitude of women and eunuchs, came as a prey er rather than as an enemy : and whom Alexander " conquered without fliedding much blood, and without wanting any other merit, than that of daring to despise what was really contemptible. He would " have found Italy very different from India, through which he marched in a riotous manner, his army " quite stupissed with wine; particularly when he " should have seen the forests of Apulia, the mountains of Lucania, and the still recent footsteps of the defeat of Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, who there loft his life." The historian adds, that he speaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by profperity, whose subtle poison worked as

dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ fuæ apparatibus, prædam veriùs quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene aufus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longe ali- fumptus erat. Liv. l. 9. n. 17.

Non jam cum Dario rem esse us Italiæ, quam Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commessabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, faltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, & vestigia recentia, domesticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander abfrongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had feemed hitherto.

These reflections of Livy shew, that Alexander partly-owed his victories to the weakness of his enemies: and that had he met with nations, as courageous and as well inured to all the hardships of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as those of Rome; that then his victories would not have been either fo rapid or fo uninterrupted. Nevertheless, with some, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are confidered as two of the greatest generals that ever lived, and for this reason: both of them not only understood perfectly the military science, but their experience, their abilities, their resolution and courage, were put to the trial, and fet in the strongest light. Now should we give to either of them an unequal antagonist, one whose reputation is not answerable to theirs, we shall no longer have the same idea of them; and their victories, though supposed alike, appear no longer with the fame luftre, nor deferve the fame applause.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by shining actions, and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themselves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander possessed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other scale his errors and vices, the presumptuous * idea he entertained of his merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirst of praise and slattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying

ementiendæ stirpis. Quid si vini amor in dies sieret acrior; quid si trux ac præservida ira: (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus? Liv. ibid.

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^{*} Referre in tanto Rege piget fuperbam mutationem vestis, & desideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; & sæda supplicia, & inter vinum & epulas cædes amicorum, & vanitatem

himself the son of Jupiter; of ascribing divinity to himself; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a fervile homage, and proftrate themselves ignominiously before him; his abandoning himself so shamefully to wine; his violent anger, which rifes to brutal ferocity; the unjust and barbarous execution of his bravest and most faithful officers, and the murder of his most worthy friends in the midst of feasts and caroufals: Can any one, fays Livy, believe, that all thefe imperfections do not greatly fully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knows neither law nor limits; the rash intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the least read fon or necessity; the weakness and ignorance of the nations (totally unskilled in war) against whom he fought: do not these enervate the reasons for which he is thought to have merited the firname of Great, and the title of Hero? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myself, I am surprized to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impossible for panegyric to foar higher: they cannot image to themselves any thing more august; and think they have omitted the stroke which finishes the glory of a hero, should they not exalt him by this comparison. In my opinion, this denotes a false taste, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to fay it, a want of judgment, which must naturally shock a reasonable mind. For, as Alexander was invested with supreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the feveral duties of the fovereignty. We do not find that he possessed the first, the most effential and most excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by fea and land, flourish; to encourage and protect arts and sciences; to establish peace

peace and plenty, and not suffer his subjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to employ himself in doing justice to all his subjects, to hear their disputes, and reconcile them; to consider himself as the sather of his people, consequently as obliged to provide for all their necessities, and to procure them the several enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almost a moment after he ascended the throne, lest Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of these things, which however are the chief and most substantial duties

of a great prince.

He feems possessed of fuch qualities only as are of the fecond rank, I mean those of war, and these are all extravagant; are carried to the rashest and most odious excess, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilft his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the infatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppression so far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his foldiers appear in a more advantageous light: for thefe, after having plundered the wealth of the east, and after the prince had given them the highest marks of his beneficence, grew fo licentious, fo debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to fifteen hundred thousand What strange men were these! how depraved their school! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince; is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with fuch a model?

The Romans indeed feem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much question, whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been considered as so great a man.

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Cæsar (d) seeing his statue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorship, could not forbear groaning and fighing, when he compared the few glorious actions atchieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was faid, that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dreffed in that king's furtout. Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the fake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he assumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch fo far as Caracalla. He used the same kind of arms and goblets as that prince: he had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: he persecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burnt all the books of Aristotle their founder. because he was suspected to have conspired with those who poisoned Alexander.

I believe that I may justly affert, that if an impartial person of good sense reads Plutarch's lives of illustrious men with attention, they will leave such a tacit and ftrong impression in his mind, as will make him confider Alexander one of the least valuable among them. But how strong would the contrast be found. had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal and Scipio, the loss of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, fet off with all his titles, and furrounded by all his conquests. even if confidered in a military light, when compared to those heroes who were truly great, and worthy their

exalted reputation!

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⁽d) Dion. l. 37. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. 51. p. 454. Id. l. 59. p. 653. Id. 1. 77. p. 873.

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SECT. XX. Reflections on the Persians, Greeks and Macedonians, by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.

THE reader will not be displeased, with my inserting here, part of the admirable * reflections of the bishop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Persians, Greeks and Macedonians,

whose history we have heard. stood and reve to agnitive

The Greek nations, feveral of whom had at first lived under a monarchical form of government, having studied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themselves, and most of their cities formed themselves into commonwealths. But the wife legislators who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws drawn up with great simplicity, and sew in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired, was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves, was subject to the law, that is, to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign: it was she appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their male-administration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of

^{*} Discourse on universal bistory. Part 3. Chap. 4.

government, is incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to set-tle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeable to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, diverted them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned of conquerors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely. This great poet instructed people, no less happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, faw the delicacy of the Afiatics; their dress and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most facred, inspired them with horror; and the Barbarians were the most hateful of objects to Greece.

(e) The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times, and it was become almost natural to them. A circumstance which made these nations delight so much in Homer's poems, was, his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and esseminacy: on that of Greece, was Juno, or in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with sury: with the Greeks Pallas, or in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as

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⁽e) Ifocr. in Panegyr.

peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reason, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies so prodigiously numerous as exceeds all belies. The Persians sound often to their cost, the great advantage which discipline has over multitude and consussion; and how greatly superior, courage (when conducted by art) is to a blind impe-

tuofity. Mions mas

Persia, after having been so often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to sow divisions among them; and the height to which conquest had raised the latter, sacilitated this effect. (f) As sear held them in the bands of union, victory and security dissolved them. Having always been used to sight and conquer, they no sooner believed that the power of the Persians could not distress them, but they turned their arms against each other.

Among the feveral republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. These two great common-wealths, whose manners and conduct were directly opposite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common design they had of subjecting all Greece; so that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contratiety of interests, than an opposition of tempers and dispo-

that nothing but its fent, and division's could tendifi

The Grecian cities would not subject themselves to either: for besides that every one of them desired to live free and independent, they were not pleased with the government of either of those two commonwealths. We have shewn, in the course of this his-

(f) Plat. de Leg. l. 3. 8 39 11 daniell g l. 130 15 329 (8)

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tory, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars, were either owing to, or supported by the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmonia and Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported, Greece, in some measure; and kept it from being dependent on

either of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece; after which, the whole fecret of their politics was, to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmonia, being the most ambitious, was the first that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them with the view of subjecting the whole nation; and industrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable inflant to crush them all together. (g) And now, the cities of Greece confidered, in their wars, only the king of Persia; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of flavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the antient spirit of the country, not to rouze and take the alarm. Agefilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and shewed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was fill more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who had followed the younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece saw, more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations; and that nothing but its seuds and divisions could subject it to an enemy, who was too weak to resist it when

united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and

⁽g) Plat, de Leg. 1. 3. Isocrat. in Paneg.

common-wealths, that the his kingdom was but small, yet as it was united, and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice, and partly by strength, rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standards against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life, and Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians,

and to fuch nations as refembled them. it at of necessary

Darius, who reigned over Persia, in Alexander's time, was a just, brave and generous prince; was beloved by his fubjects, and wanted neither good fense, nor vigour, for the excution of his designs. But, if we compare them; if we oppose the genius of Darius. to the penetrating fublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage (which obstacles animated) of the latter; with that boundless desire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory and his entire belief, that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by providence superior to the rest of mortals; a belief with which he inspired, not only his generals, but the meanest of his soldiers, who, thereby role above difficulties, and even above themselves the reader will easily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious. advoid ale s

If to these considerations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it must be consessed, that it was impossible for the Persian empire to subsist any longer, when invaded by so great a hero, and by such invincible armies. And thus we discover at one and the same time, the circumstance which ruined the empire of the Persians, and

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To smooth his way to victory, the Persians happened to lose the only general who was able to make head against the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought against this illustrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquished an enemy worthy of himself. But in the very infancy of a diversion which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to

give way before him.

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This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a splender and magnificence which had never been seen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after subduing, with incredible swiftness, all the nations subject to Persia; to secure his new empire on every side, or rather to satiate his ambition, and render his name more samous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conquests surther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch whose impetuous career neither desarts, rivers, nor mountains could stop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his soldiers, who called aloud for ease and repose.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and refpected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Neverthelefs the formidable empire he had acquired, fubfifted
no longer than his life, which was but fhort. At
thirty-three years of age, in the midft of the grandeft
defigns that ever man formed, and flushed with the
furest hopes of success, he died, before he had leisure
to settle his affairs on a folid soundation; leaving behind
him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of supporting the weight of such a power.

But the circumstance, which proved most satal to his family and empire, was, his having taught the generals who survived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for sear of mistaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian of

of his children. He only forctold, that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the consusion which would follow his death.

And indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his ancestors had governed during so many ages, was invaded on all fides, as a fucceffion that was become vacant; and after being long exposed a prey, was at last possessed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the most renowned the world ever faw, was the last king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vast bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors. But, rising to too exalted an height of power, he proved the destruction of his posterity; and fuch was the glorious fruit of all his conquefts. Kettlewell's de long of Wale Williams Lowin's Conjugation on the Pool etc. Ashar and

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